

THE VIEWS ABOUT HAMLET
AND OTHER ESSAYS

ALBERT H. TOLMAN

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BY
ALBERT H. TOLMAN



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SECOND IMPRESSION

TO
MY HOME-MAKER

PREFACE

IN preparing this book for the press, I have been greatly helped by the valuable criticisms and suggestions of my friend Mrs. Ella Adams Moore, of The University of Chicago. I wish to express to the following persons also my gratitude for generous assistance: Mr. Edward Tolman, Dr. Horace Howard Furness, Dr. W. J. Rolfe, Rev. F. E. Dewhurst, Professor J. M. Manly, Professor F. J. Miller, Professor F. A. Blackburn, Professor G. C. Howland, Professor Camillo von Klenze, Professor A. M. Elliott, Professor Anna S. Morse, Dr. Eleanor P. Hammond, Miss Maude L. Radford, and Mr. S. B. Gass.

A. H. T.

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THE VIEWS ABOUT HAMLET

THE VIEWS ABOUT HAMLET¹

“VERILY, given a printing-press upon German soil,” says Dr. Furness, “and lo! an essay on Hamlet.” England and the United States, as might be expected, vie with Germany in contributing to the literature of this play. All the sister nations of Europe, too, have their own essays on Hamlet. Numberless are those who confidently take up the task enjoined on Horatio by the dying Prince: —

“Report me and my cause aright.”

It behooves one, therefore, who would put forth another paper upon Hamlet to show cause at the outset why he should not be looked upon as a public enemy.

My apology must be that it is not so much my purpose to write a new essay upon this play, as it is to classify and interpret the essays which have already been written. I desire to lighten the burden for those who study the literature concerning

¹ Reprinted with changes from vol. xiii. (1898) of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Baltimore.

The writer has been constantly indebted to the great Variorum edition of *Hamlet*, by Dr. H. H. Furness, two vols., Philadelphia, 1877. Each criticism here referred to can be found in that work unless otherwise stated. Much help has also been received from Professor Loening's admirable book, *Die Hamlet-Tragödie Shakespeares*, Stuttgart.

Hamlet, and at the same time to help those who are simply readers of the play. Attention will be confined for the most part to the central mystery of the drama, namely, Why does Hamlet delay to revenge the murder of his father, and so to fulfill the command of the Ghost? Was his delay real, or only apparent? Was it blameworthy, or blameless?

Three separate questions should be borne in mind in discussing the central problem of this drama. First, how many possible lines of explanation can be found for what seems to be the weak and procrastinating conduct of Hamlet? Practically the same as the preceding, so far as we can see, is a second inquiry, What theories of the play have as a matter of fact been put forward by critics? As we proceed, and especially at the close of the paper, a third question will naturally present itself, namely, How far are the various explanations that have been offered, or partial explanations, compatible with one another, or even complementary; and how far are they antagonistic, or even completely irreconcilable? The failure of critics to keep this question clearly before them has perhaps caused as much confusion as any fact connected with the study of the drama. A commentator has often sought to overthrow the opinion of a predecessor by presenting considerations entirely compatible with those which had been emphasized by his fellow-interpreter.

I. THE COMMAND TO REVENGE

A threefold command is laid upon Hamlet by the ghost of his father : —

“ If thou didst ever thy dear father love —

(1) Revenge his foul and most unnatural murder.

But, howsoever thou pursuest this act,
(2) Taint not thy mind, (3) nor let thy soul contrive
Against thy mother aught.”¹

I. v. 23-86.

Let us direct our attention, for a time, exclusively to the first injunction of the Ghost, the solemn adjuration to revenge, leaving the remaining commands to be considered later. The weight of emphasis seems plainly to rest upon this first mandate. The two qualifying commands come at the end of the closing speech of the Ghost ; and the first one of them, “ Taint not thy mind,” is not present at all in the earliest version of the play, the First Quarto.

¹ It is possible to hold that what has been printed above as the second and third commands is really a single mandate. This interpretation may be defended. A regular meaning of “ nor ” is *and not*. The words “ Taint not thy mind, nor let [= and let not] thy soul contrive against thy mother aught ” may be looked upon as two parallel forms of a single command, the first expression being more general and the second more specific. This is substantially the explanation of L. Pr. in a review of this paper in the *Jahrbuch* of the German Shakespeare Society for 1898 (vol. xxxiv. p. 416). Compare these words from the Twenty-Fourth Psalm : “ Lift up your heads, O ye gates ; *and* be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors.” It seems fair to say, however, that the presumption is against this unaccustomed use of “ nor.”

At the beginning of our inquiry a difficulty meets us which has probably caused more or less trouble to every student of "Hamlet." What is the moral standing-ground of the play? What are its ethical presuppositions? What standards of right does it take for granted? Ought Hamlet to have accepted revenge, — an immediate, violent, bloody revenge, — as his one, all-inclusive duty? Those students of the play who make especially prominent the first command of the Ghost say "Yes." Should he have accepted the testimony of the Ghost as final and conclusive? In any case, should the conduct of the King when witnessing the play have put an end to all doubt and hesitation, and led to immediate revenge? Those who accent the command to revenge will say "Yes" to one or both of these questions. According to this view, Hamlet is to be conceived as living at a time when the right and duty of blood-revenge is unquestioned. We are to accept on this point the passionate standards of the natural man. Hamlet is driven forward by the command of his father and by his own burning desire for vengeance. His task is, as Taine puts it, "to go quietly, and, with premeditation, plunge a sword into a breast."

If we adopt this view of the situation and of Hamlet's character, what are the possible explanations of his delay in securing vengeance? The following have been more or less clearly put forward by various critics : —

1. An excessive tendency to reflection.

2. Weakness of will.
3. An unhealthy or a disturbed emotional nature, or both. This explanation takes two forms : —
 - a.* A deep-seated melancholy is a fundamental characteristic of Hamlet's nature.
 - b.* The discovery by Hamlet of the lies, hypocrisies, infidelities of life has brought with it a sickness of heart which paralyzes the powers of action. That is, an extreme moral sensitiveness is the important emotional quality.

It is clear that these two statements, *a* and *b*, do not antagonize each other ; it is entirely possible to accept them both.

4. Suspicion of the Ghost, and doubt of the truth of his revelation.
5. An overpowering love for Ophelia.
6. A clear or a lurking consciousness of mental derangement.
7. Interest in playing the rôle of madman.
8. A wish to be a reformer, to set right his time.
9. Bodily infirmity.
10. Cowardice.

The first three of the above explanations are closely affiliated ; they naturally complement one another. They agree in representing Hamlet's difficulty as personal, subjective : the first suggestion would make the defect in his nature an intellectual one ; the second would make it volitional ; the third, emotional, temperamental. The attentive reader

will note that these three separate suggested causes may fairly be looked upon to some degree as different ways of saying the same thing. By an excessive tendency to reflection we mean excessive in proportion to the activity of the other powers, especially the powers of action ; by weakness of will we may mean simply weakness in proportion to the activity of the other powers of the mind under the given circumstances. To say that a man reflects too much is practically to say that he decides, acts too little. And accompanying all reflection and volition, but deeper than they, are the great tides of the emotional being and the Gulf Stream of temperament.

It is very natural, therefore, if any one of these first three suggestions is accepted, to give some weight to all of them. Students of the play, however, have often championed a single one of these considerations, without recognizing the others.

It is along the lines just indicated that the first great critics of Shakespeare interpreted the character of the Danish Prince. Coleridge pointed out Hamlet's "great, almost enormous, intellectual activity," — what Vischer calls the "excess in Hamlet of a reflective, meditative habit of mind." Among the many scholars who have followed the great English interpreter in making prominent the tendency of Hamlet to lose himself in reflection, I will mention Hazlitt, Dowden, and Hermann Grimm. Taine and others, who speak of Hamlet's "too lively imagination," also belong here.

Goethe, in his famous criticism of the play, apparently intended to attribute to Hamlet both weakness of volition and extreme moral sensitiveness; but infirmity of will seems to have been most prominent in his thought. To him the tragedy tells the story of "a great deed laid upon a soul unequal to the performance of it." Richard Grant White characterizes Hamlet as "constitutionally irresolute, purposeless, and procrastinating." Lowell and Schlegel also emphasize his lack of will power.

Loening looks upon Hamlet's melancholy temperament as the fundamental fact in his nature. His tendency to lose himself in gloomy reflection and especially in bitter self-condemnation, his unwillingness to make decisions, and his inability to set before himself and carry out any consistent, premeditated line of effective action, — these characteristics Loening considers to be but natural manifestations and accompaniments of this melancholy temperament. This interpreter wisely makes Hamlet's emotional nature the primary fact.

"Thought is deeper than all speech,
Feeling deeper than all thought."

Loening points out that "great intellectual activity" does not necessarily tend to keep one from acting, and calls to mind Cæsar's judgment upon Cassius, — "He thinks too much: such men are dangerous." A settled, constitutional aversion toward decision and action seems to be the deeper cause underneath Hamlet's "excessive tendency to reflection."

A German critic, Sievers, holds that Hamlet is kept from acting by what I have above called extreme moral sensitiveness. Sievers says : —

“Hamlet is indeed a costly vase full of lovely flowers, for he is a pure human being, penetrated by enthusiasm for the Great and the Beautiful, living wholly in the Ideal, and, above all things, full of faith in man; and the vase is shattered into atoms from within, — this and just this Goethe truly felt, — but what causes the ruin of the vase is not that the great deed of avenging a father’s murder exceeds its strength, but it is the discovery of the falseness of man, the discovery of the contradiction between the ideal world and the actual, which suddenly confronts him : . . . in short, Hamlet perishes because the gloomy background of life is suddenly unrolled before him, because the sight of this robs him of his *faith* in life and in good, and because he now *cannot* act.”

It is an unimportant fact that the present writer agrees with the innumerable company who have accepted some form of that general theory of the play with which we have so far been dealing. Some mediation is necessary, to be sure, between the various views that have been outlined. Moreover, this line of interpretation needs, I think, to be supplemented at a number of points; but it should not be given up. We should be especially careful not to look upon Hamlet’s character as defective solely upon the intellectual, the volitional, or the emotional side. This drama, like real life, knows nothing of the sharp lines of division between intellect, feeling, and will, once dear to psychology.

It is well to remind ourselves before we go farther that Hamlet does act with great decision and energy at several points in the play. Those who accept the view of Werder, to be explained later, contend that Hamlet's true character manifests itself unchecked by circumstances in these vigorous measures. Loening's explanation of these outbreaks, and also of the frequent violence of Hamlet's language, is that the Prince has in his nature a passionate strain, "a choleric element." Under sudden provocation, and with an opportunity for action immediately before him, Hamlet can be bold and decisive. He warns Laertes, in the struggle over the body of Ophelia, that there is in him "something dangerous, which let thy wiseness fear."

We pass now from these more fundamental suggestions to the fourth possible ground for delay indicated above, Hamlet's fear that the Ghost may have deceived him. This is usually accepted as having much weight. Just before the close of Act II. the hero says : —

"The spirit that I have seen
May be the devil : and the devil hath power
To assume a pleasing shape ; yea, and perhaps
Out of my weakness and my melancholy,
As he is very potent with such spirits,
Abuses me to damn me." *

II. ii. 627-32.

Loening points out, however, that all the remaining portions of the soliloquy in which these words occur take for granted the entire truth of the Ghost's revelation and the guilt of the King. This

fact seems to show that Hamlet's suspicion of the Ghost is only a pretense, in which he tries to find both a justification for the two months of inaction that have elapsed since the revelation of the Ghost was made to him, and an additional reason in favor of the proposed play.

The next reason for delay that has been suggested is connected with the love interest of the play. At the beginning of Act II. Ophelia tells Polonius of the meeting "so piteous and profound" which has just taken place between the Prince and herself. This passage, with others, has suggested the opinion that the devotion of the hero to her affects him so deeply, so absorbs his soul, that it furnishes an additional explanation of his dilatoriness. A certain Dr. Woelffel probably stands alone in looking upon "the failure of Ophelia to respond to Hamlet's love in all its depth and ardor" as "the turning point in the tragedy."

Goethe's evil interpretation of the character of Ophelia seems to me entirely uncalled for; and some other German critics have been eager to outdo their master. It may be that Goethe's explanations prove some impurity of mind — but not in Ophelia. For us, as for Laertes, "from her fair and unpolluted flesh" the "violets spring."

But little space can be given here to what Furness calls "the one great insoluble mystery of Hamlet's sanity." The various opinions range all the way from the conviction of Hudson and others, that the Prince is not sane, to the view of Furness, "that

he is neither mad nor pretends to be." Lowell speaks of Hamlet's "perpetual inclination to irony"; and Weiss would make this the explanation of most things that have seemed to many to indicate a feigning of insanity.

I accept the usual view that Hamlet is not mad and that he does feign madness; lack of sanity is not therefore for me an explanation of his delay. Hamlet's soul is indeed violently agitated by the words of the Ghost; but the pretense that his mind is diseased seems to me a device, taken up at first on the impulse of the moment, by means of which he both avoids decisive action and makes it possible to give safe though veiled utterance to his tumultuous feelings.

Hamlet's words to Laertes before the fencing-bout (V. ii. 237-255) constitute one of the strongest arguments of those who insist that he is deranged. The force of this speech, however, is not entirely clear. That one's words shall convey the truth to the listener may well be called a higher standard of veracity than that one shall merely tell the truth; and it can fairly be argued that, even if Hamlet knows himself to have been entirely sane, his words are well adapted to convey to Laertes the truth about his responsibility for the death of Polonius.

A few students not only accept the mental derangement of the hero as a fact, but consider it to be so constant, serious, and deep-seated as to furnish the sole and the sufficient explanation for all

the irregularities of his conduct. An article by Mr. Oakeshott seems to advocate this opinion.¹

Except for those who take the somewhat extreme position just indicated, the question whether Hamlet's madness is real or pretended is perhaps not of central importance in the interpretation of the drama. Grimm and Lewes have argued very forcibly that it is not possible to make up one's mind on this point, and that Shakespeare did not intend to have us do so. I believe that the debate on this topic concerns largely the use of terms, the definition of madness ; and that it often indicates no fundamental difference of opinion between the opposing sides. Hamlet is sane enough to be the responsible hero of a great tragedy. He is not sane enough to be pronounced rational by the experts : few are.

The following words of Edwin Booth have great force, and they come from one to whom all are glad to listen : —

“To my dull thinking, Hamlet typifies uneven or unbalanced genius. But who can tell us what genius of any sort whatever means? The possessor, or rather the possessed, if he is, as in Hamlet's case, more frequently its slave than its master, is irresistibly and often unconsciously swayed by its capriciousness. Great minds to madness closely are allied. Hamlet's mind, at the very edge of frenzy, seeks its relief in ribaldry. For a like reason would my father open, so to speak, the safety valve of levity in some of his most impassioned moments. At the instant of intense emotion, when the spectators

¹ “Hamlet. From a Student's Notebook,” *The Westminster Review*. Reprinted in the *Eclectic Magazine* for August, 1897.

were enthralled by his magnetic influence, the tragedian's overwrought brain would take refuge from its own threatening storm beneath the jester's hood, and while turned from the audience he would whisper some silliness or 'make a face.' When he left the stage, however, no allusion to such seeming frivolity was permitted. His fellow-actors who perceived these trivialities ignorantly attributed his conduct at such times to lack of feeling, whereas it was extreme excess of feeling which thus forced his brain back from the very verge of madness. Only those who have known the torture of severe mental tension can appreciate the value of that one little step from the sublime to the ridiculous. My close acquaintance with so fantastic a temperament as was my father's so accustomed me to that in him that much of Hamlet's 'mystery' seems to me no more than idiosyncrasy."¹

Probably all who think that Hamlet makes a pretense of madness will agree that the interest which he takes in this feigning helps to keep him from positive action. An English writer, Boas, says: —

"Hamlet becomes absorbed in the intellectual fascination of his rôle; he revels in the opportunities it gives him of bewildering those about him, of letting fly shafts of mockery, here, there, and everywhere. But these verbal triumphs are Pyrrhic victories, which draw him further and further from his legitimate task."²

That Hamlet, shocked by the evil about him, desires to open the eyes of his generation to its corruptness and to act as a reformer, has been thought to be implied in the couplet, —

¹ Quoted in the *Chicago Record-Herald* for July 2, 1903.

² *Shakspeare and His Predecessors*, New York, 1896, p. 398.

“The time is out of joint : O cursed spite,
That ever I was born to set it right ! ”

I. v. 188-9.

Professor Brandl thinks that this desire has force in keeping the hero back from action.¹ The words seem to the present writer to be a violent expression of Hamlet's antipathy toward the task which the Ghost has laid upon him.

It is believed by some that bodily weakness helps to keep the Prince from action. The Queen says of Hamlet at the fencing-bout, “He's fat, and scant of breath” (V. ii. 298). There are other expressions in the play which have been taken to indicate that the Prince is not sound of body. Loening thinks that the evidence points to an internal fatness, fatness of the heart ; and he believes that this physical infirmity helps to explain the inactivity of the hero.

This word “fat” has been a stone of stumbling. Although there is no authority for any other word, “fat” has been looked upon either as a misprint for “hot” or “faint,” or as referring to the physical appearance of Burbage, the first actor to play this rôle.

At least one interpreter, Rohrbach, has looked upon Hamlet as a plain coward, and has found in this fact alone the decisive reason for his inaction. While other scholars make this consideration less prominent, there are many who find in the Prince some measure of cowardice.

¹ *Shakspeare*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 151, 154.

II. "TAINT NOT THY MIND"

If we look now at the second command of the Ghost, —

"But, howsoever thou pursuest this act,
Taint not thy mind,"

I. v. 84-5.

what further considerations offer themselves as possible explanations of Hamlet's delay? Certainly we must consider the following: —

1. A filial desire and purpose to obey this injunction, "Taint not thy mind."

2. Conscientious scruples against blood-revenge, and an instinctive shrinking from it as barbarous.

3. A special aversion to killing one who, though stained with crime, is the brother of Hamlet's father, the husband of his mother, and his King.

4. A sensitive fear of the Prince that the attainment of the crown is his real object, or will seem to be.

5. A clear perception on the part of Hamlet that, if he shall kill the King, he will be unable to justify the act in the eyes of the Danish people.

6. A desire to expose, disgrace, and dethrone the King, and so punish him before the world, and a belief that this is what the Ghost really commands.

We have already noted that some scholars do not consider that the words "Taint not thy mind" constitute a separate mandate, but that they are merely introductory to the injunction, "nor let thy soul contrive against thy mother aught." The

acceptance of this view would modify some things that will be here said ; but the considerations taken up in this second division of the paper would necessarily receive attention, however we interpret these words.

All will admit the force of the first motive mentioned, Hamlet's desire to obey this injunction of his father. The difficulty lies solely in interpreting the command. The second ground suggested as an explanation of Hamlet's conduct is that he has conscientious scruples against blood-revenge and an instinctive aversion to it. If we accept these motives as conceivable and consistent with the play, then Hamlet finds himself confronted with an intensely tragic dilemma. The long-accepted interpretation of his character put forth by Goethe and Coleridge, taken by itself, seems deficient in dramatic power. Professor Corson well asks, "Where is the dramatic interest to come from, with such an irredeemable do-nothing for the hero of the drama as Coleridge represents Hamlet to be?"¹

The opinion that Hamlet is held back from action by conscientious scruples was forcibly put by a writer in the "Quarterly Review" in 1847. Hamlet accuses himself either of

"Bestial oblivion, or some craven scruple
Of thinking too precisely on the event,"

IV. iv. 40-1.

and he seems to reveal his secret questionings of heart when he asks Horatio, even after the King has tried to take his life, —

¹ *Introduction to Shakespeare*, Boston, 1893, p. 218.

"is 't not perfect conscience,
To quit him with this arm ? "

V. ii. 67-8.

Loening seems to have shown, however, that the context forbids us to look upon the line, —

"Thus conscience does make cowards of us all,"

III. i. 83.

as a proof that conscientious scruples keep Hamlet from acting. But the line does imply that the Prince is sensitive to moral considerations.

The opinion just outlined was set forth in the "Quarterly Review" as opposed to the explanation "that the thinking part of Hamlet predominates over the active"; but it is not necessary to look upon the two interpretations as antagonistic. Both together may be better than either alone.

A great objection to the view now before us is that it makes the Ghost assign to Hamlet what may fairly be called an impossible task; but is there not a contradiction at this point in the play too deeply fixed to be denied or overlooked? If Hamlet determines at the same time to secure revenge and to keep his mind untainted, has he not adopted contradictory principles of action, if we give to the words "revenge" and "taint not thy mind" their natural meaning? He who sets before him as his chosen task the accomplishment of blood-revenge must fling to the winds all other considerations; he who is determined, howsoever he pursues his course, not to taint his mind, cannot seek that "wild justice," revenge. Whether or

not Hamlet clearly perceives the fact, may not this inherent contradiction, this fixed dilemma, be an important cause for his delay? By this explanation, we have an irresistible force, the passionate desire for vengeance, encountering an immovable obstacle in Hamlet's conscience, made more firm by the warning command, "Taint not thy mind." Is not this the tragic conflict?

In this view Hamlet is not "the natural man," neither is he the Christian minister of justice. He is "in a strait" betwixt the two, yielding now to one impulse, now to another. It is noticeable that both Christian and natural sentiments appear freely in this play, and almost side by side: —

"Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes
Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
The bird of dawning singeth all night long."

I. i. 158-60.

"Revenge his foul and most unnatural murder."

I. v. 25.

I am very glad that Taine has said so bluntly that Hamlet's task is simply "to go quietly, and, with premeditation, plunge a sword into a breast." How many readers believe that all the ethical presuppositions of the play, its entire moral atmosphere, find adequate expression in this doctrine of assassination? Moreover, if Hamlet's task is so simple, there seems to be no fitness in the words, "howsoever thou pursuest this act."

After a most elaborate argument on this point, Loening accepts as his own the following statement of Vischer: —

“That blood-revenge is an unquestioned and sacred duty is absolutely taken for granted in this tragedy; the man who opposes this opinion has no longer any claim to understand the play.”

Loening admits, however, that the mediæval church looked upon private revenge as sinful. The doctrine of Purgatory, too, came from the Church. What wonder that the Ghost, escaping from purgatorial fires, speaks to Hamlet words of warning as well as words of incitement? The command “Taint not thy mind” is not in the First Quarto; why is it present in the later versions? What do these words mean, if Hamlet is free to put an end to the King’s life in any way that he may choose?

There can be no doubt, I think, that Shakespeare practically takes for granted in his plays the moral standards of his own age. Just as we are to explain from the peculiar legal status of certain English cities of Shakespeare’s own day Shylock’s words, —

“let the danger light
Upon your charter and your city’s freedom,” —
Merchant of Venice, IV. i. 38-9.

so we are to interpret our play, on the whole, by the moral standards of Shakespeare’s England. Francis de Belleforest, a French gentleman, probably wrote his version of the story of Hamlet in 1570. This version is believed to be the source from which Shakespeare took the story. The earliest known copy of the English translation of Belleforest bears the date 1608. Though Belle-

forest distinctly states that he is giving an account of an early time when the Danes were "barbarous and uncivil," the following passage from the English version, one of several that could be cited, will show that the incompatibility between Christianity and the finest morality on the one hand, and the practice of blood-revenge on the other, was clearly felt in Shakespeare's day, and could well be suggested to him by the very work from which he is supposed to have taken this particular story:—

"... he that will follow this course must speak and do all things whatsoever that are pleasing and acceptable to him whom he meaneth to deceive . . . ; for that is rightly to play and counterfeit the fool, when a man is constrained to dissemble and kiss his hand whom in heart he could wish a hundred feet depth under the earth, so he might never see him more, if it were not a thing wholly to be disliked in a Christian, who by no means ought to have a bitter gall or desires infected with revenge."¹

The beginning of Bacon's essay on Revenge also helps to support the opinion that in Shakespeare's time blood-revenge was sometimes looked upon as an unworthy thing. The essay opens with these words: "Revenge is a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out."

Moreover, the Prince can in no way bring the King to any sort of judicial duel, or judgment of God, but must kill him treacherously, must stab

¹ Furness, vol. ii. p. 95.

him in the back, if not literally, at least practically. This fact would make actual blood-revenge very distasteful to one possessing real fineness of feeling. What wonder if the warning cry rings in Hamlet's ears, "Howsoever thou pursuest this act, taint not thy mind!"

The view that Hamlet is held back from acting by "the secret voice of conscience, and the shrinking of a delicate soul from an assassination in cold blood" is supported by Richardson and Ulrici, by passages in the earlier writings of Hudson, and by the French critics Mézières and Courdaveaux. The last writer says: "Seek, outside of this explanation, one that explains everything, and you will seek in vain."

The third suggestion noted above, that Hamlet has a special aversion to killing his father's brother, his mother's husband, and his King, will seem to most persons about as wrong-headed a view as could well be put forward. Certainly it is most natural to look upon these considerations, especially the last two, as the strongest incitements to revenge. However, those who make much of the fineness of Hamlet's nature are liable at times to approximate this untenable position before they are aware of doing so.

Some commentators believe that Hamlet's fear that the crown shall seem to be his object is an important reason for his delay. Some passages in the latter part of the play may be adduced in support of this position. Hamlet says, — "I eat the air,

promise-crammed " (III. ii. 99) ; and later in the same scene complains, —

" I lack advancement.

Rosencrantz. How can that be, when you have the voice of the king himself for your succession in Denmark ?

Hamlet. Ay, but sir, ' While the grass grows,' — the proverb is something musty."

III. ii. 354-9.

Personal disappointment may add to his bitterness when the Prince calls Claudius

" a vice of kings ;

A cutpurse of the empire and the rule,
That from a shelf the precious diadem stole,
And put it in his pocket ! "

III. iv. 98-101.

To his bosom friend Horatio, Hamlet is very explicit. It is a crowning wrong to himself that the King has

" Popp'd in between the election and [his] hopes."

V. ii. 65.

The most important theory of this drama that has been put forward in recent years explains Hamlet's conduct entirely from the nature of his task. According to this view, his mission is to depose and disgrace the King, and thus set matters right before the world, and not merely to put an end to his life. The adulterer, murderer, and usurper must taste the full bitterness of a felon's death. This theory, suggested by Ziegler in 1803, put with great force by Klein in 1846, and accepted by L. Schipper in 1862, was given full and adequate expression by Karl Werder in 1875. Hudson and Professor Corson accept this general position.

I will let Werder present his own case. He says:—

“I deny, first of all, . . . that it is possible for Hamlet to *dare* to do what the critics . . . almost unanimously require of him. . . . The situation of things, the force of circumstances, the nature of his task, directly forbid it. . . . *We* are in the secret, *we* sit, as the public, in the council of the gods. But the Danes do not know that Claudius is the murderer of his brother, and are never to be convinced of it if Hamlet slays the King, and then appeals for his vindication to a private communication which a ghost has made to him. . . .

“But what now has Hamlet in truth to do? What is his real task? A very sharply defined duty. . . . Not to crush the King at once, . . . but to bring him to confession, to unmask, and convict him: this is his first, nearest, inevitable duty. As things stand, truth and justice can be known only from one mouth, the mouth of the crowned criminal, . . . or they remain hidden and buried till the last day. This is the point! Herein lie the terrors of this tragedy, — its enigmatical horror, its inexorable misery! The encoffined secrecy of the *unprovable* crime: this is the subterranean spring, whence flows its power to awaken fear and sympathy. . . .

“Killing the King *before* the proof is adduced would be, not killing the guilty, but killing the *proof*; it would be, not the murder of the criminal, but the murder of Justice! . . .

“Upon the one side, a well-defended fortress, and without, a single man, who is to take it, he alone. So stands Hamlet confronting his task!”

Hamlet’s outcry at the close of the first act

may be interpreted as supporting the view of Werder:—

“The time is out of joint: O cursed spite,
That ever I was born to set it right!”

I. v. 188-9.

The usual explanation of the stabbing of Polonius is that Hamlet takes him for the King. This view seems to make the following words of the Ghost to Hamlet, a few moments later, uncalled for, unless we accept the theory of Werder:—

“Do not forget: this visitation
Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose.”

III. iv. 110-1.

However, Loening's interpretation of this incident seems preferable on the whole. The cries of Polonius for help excite Hamlet to a fury of anger against the unknown intruder who has thus treacherously learned his secret, and he instantly makes a thrust through the arras at the hidden enemy. When the Queen asks, —

“O me, what hast thou done?”

Hamlet's first answer is, —

“Nay, I know not.”

Then, apparently, the Queen's excited manner arouses his suspicion and causes him to ask, —

“Is it the King?”

According to Loening, it is to this thought, which first entered his mind after the fatal stab had been given, that Hamlet refers in the words, —

“Thou wretched, rash, intruding fool, farewell!
I took thee for thy better.”

III. iv. 25-32.

One advantage of Werder's view is, that what most students regard as Hamlet's pretense of madness is at once adequately motivated. This device enables him "to give some vent to what is raging within him" without awakening suspicion; and possibly, "should any favorable opportunity offer itself," "more active operations against the enemy than would be permitted to a sane man" may be tolerated in one supposed to be mad.

This view also exalts and ennobles our conception of Hamlet's character. All the familiar charges against him fall to the ground. The Prince whom we all love and pity now claims also our unqualified admiration. As good and wise as he is ill-fated, he stands forth almost without "spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing." The drama becomes almost entirely a tragedy of Fate, not a tragedy of Character.

All must grant, too, that the situation and the progress of the action, as Werder outlines them, are intensely tragic. So deeply does the writer feel this that he has often wished that Shakespeare might have written this "Hamlet" also. Says Hudson, in presenting this conception of the play:—

"The very plan of the drama, as I understand it, is to crush all the intellectual fragrance out of Hamlet, between a necessity and an impossibility of acting. The tremendous problem, the terrible dilemma which he has to grapple with, is one that Providence alone can solve, as Providence does solve it at the last."¹

But I must renounce Werder and all his works.

¹ School edition of *Hamlet*, p. 21.

The natural impression which the drama as we have it makes upon an unprejudiced reader is not consistent with this new explanation.

Werder does not give the natural interpretation to the first commission of the Ghost, the demand for revenge. He makes up for this, so to speak, by forcing the meaning of the second command also. To revenge does not naturally mean "to bring to confession, to unmask, and convict"; and the words "Taint not thy mind" are most naturally interpreted as an incitement to Hamlet to obey scrupulously the promptings of his conscience, not as a warning to guard his reputation.

In spite of an amount of soliloquy which is unexampled in dramatic literature, this theory is obliged to assume that Hamlet fails to express the one purpose which fills his mind. After explaining what seems to him to be the real situation when Hamlet discovers the King at prayer, Werder says: "Hamlet, it is true, does not himself say this, — no! But the state of the case says it instead." This form of speech is significant of Werder's entire method. He is constantly explaining to us his own view of "the state of the case"; he makes little effort to prove that Hamlet holds the same view. The Prince is mistaken, then, when he taunts himself with "unpacking his heart." This he cannot do; at every point "the state of the case" must be called in to speak for him. It must be admitted, though, that the words of the hero when he comes upon the praying King are looked upon by very

few persons as a truthful, or at least as a full, expression of his mind.

What Hamlet actually says in his soliloquies, also, is decidedly at variance with what "the state of the case" is supposed to be saying for him. Werder's interpretation of the first part of the soliloquy beginning "O, what a rogue and peasant slave am I!" (II. ii. 576) is, that the hero relieves his agony by "falling out with himself" and uttering unjust reproaches. Concerning Hamlet's sharp arraignment of himself after he learns the destination of the troops of Fortinbras, Professor Corson says with admirable frankness: "It must not be explained on the theory of Hamlet's indisposition to action, much as it may appear to support that theory."

Dramatic soliloquy is largely a conventional device for informing the audience concerning the state of mind of the speaker. In most places where Shakespeare represents his characters as thus thinking aloud they certainly would not naturally do so in real life. If we can explain away a mass of such utterances, and suppose that the solitary speaker is systematically untrue to his real thought, then the interpretation of dramatic soliloquy becomes not merely a fine art, but one so superfine as to be altogether beyond the reach of merely human powers.

The play before the King may, apparently, achieve two results if entirely successful: it may convince Hamlet of the Ghost's integrity and of the truth of his story; and it may surprise the King

into some kind of public confession (II. ii. 617-21, 627-8; III. ii. 85-7). Those inclined to the Werder view naturally consider that the central purpose of this device is to obtain some sort of confession from the King. This result is not secured, yet Hamlet seems to regard his experiment as highly successful. He has been more concerned in satisfying his own doubts than in inducing the King to confess.

I cannot believe, however, that the Prince has set either of these purposes before him in any genuine, earnest way. Both are pretenses. He has never really questioned the honesty of the Ghost, and he has little hope of any open confession from the King. Hamlet delights in torturing the King by means of the play; and he really betrays himself in order to have that pleasure. Apart from his desire to punish the King in this way, the play is hardly more than a plausible excuse for doing nothing.

Loening insists with reason that Shakespeare would not have allowed the King to meet death until after he had been branded before the world, if this were looked upon as the punishment which justice demanded, and if this had been enjoined by supernatural visitations.

There is a strong presumption against a theory which asks us to believe that Goethe and Coleridge misunderstood this play completely, and that they have been followed in their error by the great mass of the students of Shakespeare. Everything which

they said about "Hamlet" is to be considered false, and pretty much everything which they did not say is to be accepted as true. Of course, a disputed question cannot be settled by an appeal to authority; but there is a weighty presumption against the new view, at least in the extreme form in which it is usually stated. In some milder and limited statement, it may perhaps be compatible with the opinions that it seeks to displace. Werder himself unwittingly recognizes that a heavy burden of proof rests upon him when he says: "That this point for a century long should never have been seen, is the most incomprehensible thing that has ever happened in æsthetic criticism from the very beginning of its existence." We have noted, however, that there were Werderites before Werder.

Baumgart says with great cogency:—

"Where does the Ghost or Hamlet speak of punishment merely, and of the necessity of a previous unmasking? It is revenge alone that the Ghost calls for, and swift revenge that Hamlet promises. . . . That the conviction wrought by the play is to lead to any measure looking to the public arraignment of the King, there is not a word to intimate. There is nothing in the whole piece which hints at any plan of Hamlet's, or at any intention to form one."

The popularity of Werder's theory seems to me to be parallel to that of certain Confessions and Creeds. These have often been widely accepted because more logical and self-consistent than the very Scriptures which suggested them, and which they sought to explain.

III. "NOR CONTRIVE AGAINST THY MOTHER AUGHT"

The third command of the Ghost must now be considered : —

"nor let thy soul contrive
Against thy mother aught : leave her to heaven
And to those thorns that in her bosom lodge,
To prick and sting her."

I. v. 85-8.

If we try to make this command prominent in explaining Hamlet's course, the following grounds for his inaction suggest themselves : —

1. A desire and purpose to obey this injunction of his father.
2. Affection for his mother, and a desire to save her from the shame of exposure.

So far as the writer knows, Tschischwitz is the only critic who has given a central place to these motives as really determining Hamlet's conduct. I quote his comment upon the following passage : —

"O, most wicked speed, to post
With such dexterity to incestuous sheets!
It is not nor it cannot come to good :
But break, my heart ; for I must hold my tongue."

I. ii. 156-9.

"Observe well that Hamlet is forced by his piety to maintain this silence in presence of the courtiers *under all circumstances*, even after the appearance of the Ghost. It is not until his heart really breaks that he breaks this silence also, and gives Horatio permission to proclaim what has happened."

Some other commentators look upon this line of argument as having some force. Weiss has said : —

“The question of revenge becomes more difficult to settle, especially as it involves widowing his mother ; and it is noticeable that the father himself, who afterwards deplored Hamlet’s irresolution, had previously made suggestions to him [rather, imposed a command upon him] which hampered his action by constraining him to feel how complicated the situation was.”

In point of fact, however, to prove the King guilty of the murder of his brother would not necessarily involve the exposure of the Queen. The Prince is simply forbidden to take vengeance upon his mother. Indeed, in the First Quarto, where the situation is the same as in the later form of the play, Hamlet implores the Queen : —

“Mother, but assist me in revenge,
And in his death your infamy shall die.”

The Queen replies : —

“Hamlet, I vow by that majesty
That knows our thoughts and looks into our hearts,
I will conceal, consent, and do my best,
What stratagem soe’er thou shalt devise.”

IV. THE TRACES IN HAMLET OF AN OLDER PLAY

In attempting to interpret “Hamlet” by any explanation or combination of explanations derived from a study of the drama itself, some difficulties and discrepancies remain to trouble the student.

In the present division of this paper and in the following one, we shall take up certain considerations that are not drawn from the play itself.

The noble words of King Thoas in Goethe's "Iphigenie" almost make us forget that he sacrifices captive strangers upon the altar. Goethe accepted the old story, but he has refined the character of Thoas; hence, while it is assumed that the King acts barbarously, he speaks nobly.

May there not be some clashing of this sort in our "Hamlet," since the play is based upon a crude old tale of blood and revenge? Shakespeare was also embarrassed by the fact that the theatre-going public had already a definite conception of the story of the Prince and of his character.

As already indicated, an account of the life of Hamlet appeared in a French prose work by one Belleforest, "*Histoires Tragiques*," and was written in 1570. The Elizabethan "Hamlet" is believed to be based upon this form of the story. The tale is known to go back as far as the "*Historia Danica*" of Saxo Grammaticus, who wrote about 1200. In Belleforest, Hamlet kills his uncle, and then goes to England, whence he returns "with two wives."

Beginning with 1589 we find numerous allusions to an English play upon the story of Hamlet. This work has been lost. It seems to have been a tragedy of blood and vengeance. Unlike the story in Belleforest, but like that in Shakespeare, this tragedy had a ghost. The cry of the Ghost in this

lost play, "Hamlet, revenge!" is often quoted by writers of the time. A few students have conjectured that this drama was a youthful production of Shakespeare; a German scholar, Sarrazin, is confident that Thomas Kyd was its author.¹ The importance for us of this vanished play consists in the proof which it furnishes that a distinct conception of the character of Hamlet and of the story of his life had possession of the stage before Shakespeare took up the subject. Dr. Latham goes so far as to say that "long before it came under the cognizance of Shakespeare," the character of Hamlet was "as strongly stamped and stereotyped" as were those of Medea, Orestes, and Achilles upon the Greek stage. As a practical application of this doctrine, he argues that "the pretendedness" of Hamlet's madness is as unquestionable "as the reality of that of Orestes."

In 1603 was published the first version of our "Hamlet," the so-called First Quarto. This is somewhat more than half as long as the later play. The outline of the action is substantially the same as that which we know; but the Queen, as already indicated, repents of her sin, and offers to assist Hamlet in securing revenge. Strangely enough, the First Quarto has been considered by some competent critics to be better fitted for stage presentation than the later versions.

The texts of the Second Quarto of 1604 and of the First Folio of 1623 are for the most part the

¹ *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*, Berlin, 1892.

same; these give the play in the form with which we are all familiar.¹ As compared with the First Quarto, these versions make only slight changes in the story; but the astonishing fullness of thought and poetry which distinguishes this play appears for the first time in the Second Quarto.

That the gradual development of this drama into its present form might easily give rise to contradictions in the final text will be clear if we look for a moment, just by way of illustration, at the question of Hamlet's age.

There is nothing in the First Quarto which requires us to believe that "young Hamlet" is over nineteen or twenty years of age. The skull of Yorick, who played with him when he was a child, has been in the ground only "this dozen year." In the later text we learn that Hamlet's age is thirty (V. i. 153-77), and that Yorick's skull has "lain in the earth three and twenty years." In spite of this, however, many things remain in the accepted text which seem to make Hamlet a youth of not more than twenty: among these are his wish to return as a student to Wittenberg, the election of Claudius as king without the bestowal of any consideration upon the claim of Hamlet, the probable age of his mother when she yields to guilty passion, and especially the language of Laertes when he speaks to Ophelia concerning the Prince. Mr. Wilson Barrett, the actor, thinks that the age

¹ Viëtor's parallel edition of the three texts of the play is heartily commended (Marburg, 1891).

was given as thirty for the convenience of some actor who was "incapable of looking the youthful prince."¹ Many scholars, however, accept on this point the opinion expressed by Dr. Furnivall:² —

"I look on it as certain, that when Shakespeare began the play [and while he was composing the version preserved for us in the First Quarto], he conceived Hamlet as quite a young man [following the accepted story and the tradition of the stage]. But as the play grew, as greater weight of reflection, of insight into character, of knowledge of life, &c., were wanted, Shakespeare necessarily and naturally made Hamlet a formed man; and, by the time that he got to the Grave-diggers' scene [in writing the version of the Second Quarto], told us the Prince was thirty, — the right age for him then. . . . The two parts of the play *are* inconsistent on this main point in Hamlet's state."³

Perhaps it ought to be said here that several other minor discrepancies have been noted in the play. It is impossible, for example, that Horatio has been at Elsinore some two months before he meets Hamlet (I. ii. 138, 161–76). Again, it is four months after the death of Hamlet's father when the mad Ophelia sports with wild flowers. Did the dead king take a nap in a Danish orchard in mid-winter? and was it his "custom always of the afternoon"? The fact that Hamlet knows at

¹ *Lippincott's Magazine*, vol. xlv.

² The writer of this article is responsible for the passages in brackets: these bring out more explicitly what is supposed to be the thought of Dr. Furnivall.

³ *Furness*, vol. i. p. 391.

the close of Act III. that he is to be sent to England (III. iv. 200) is very puzzling. The King has only just decided upon that course (III. i. 177 and III. iii. 4, fall upon the same day), and there seems to have been no opportunity for the hero to get this information. Two months after Laertes left home Hamlet says, "I have of late . . . for-gone all custom of exercises" (II. ii. 306-8); about ten days or two weeks later, according to Daniel's estimate of the time, the Prince declares to Horatio, while speaking of the proposed fencing-bout, "Since he [Laertes] went into France, I have been in continual practice" (V. ii. 220-1). It is hard to see, also, at the beginning of Act V., why Horatio has told Hamlet nothing about the fate of Ophelia. It is hard to understand this, whether we suppose that Hamlet has inquired about her, or that he has not. Probably the only explanation is that it best suits the purpose of the dramatist to have the hero learn of Ophelia's death in the manner represented in the play.

The explanation of Dr. Furnivall concerning the age of the hero suggests that some more central difficulties in the play may perhaps be explained in a similar way. Are there in the drama as a whole unconformable strata? Sarrazin and others, among the Germans, Kenny in England, and Professor March and Mr. John Corbin in this country have made use of this method of explanation. Perhaps the last-named writer is the one who goes farthest. He says:—

“Shakspere’s happiest additions to the old tragedy of blood were precisely contradictory to its vital structure as a drama. Wherever Hamlet is in action his character dates back to the lost play: the Shaksperean element has to do almost exclusively with the reflective, imaginative, humane traits of his portraiture.”

“When Hamlet is in action he is to be judged by the standards of the tragedy of blood and revenge. It is only in his speech and manner that the Shaksperean conception shines forth. In this fact lies the root of most of the disagreements among the modern critics and actors.”¹

The fact that the old tragedy delighted its audiences with these horrors may well be the main reason why the six principal characters, together with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, are killed during the play, — five of them, if we include Polonius, meeting death before our eyes. The easy fashion in which the Prince consigns to destruction his former schoolfellows, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, may come from the old play. Perhaps the difficulty in finding a motive for Hamlet’s action in pretending madness admits in part a similar explanation. In the story as given by Belleforest he feigns madness because “perceiving himself to be in danger of his life.” Victor Hugo interprets our play in the same way; but where in the text does it appear that this is the motive? May it not be that the feigning of insanity is a feature which Shakespeare accepts from the traditional story and

¹ *The Elizabethan Hamlet*, Scribners, 1895, pp. 49, 84.

from the older play, but of which he makes little constructive use? It is noticeable that that portion of Act I. Scene v., which follows the entry of Horatio and Marcellus, has in the First Quarto practically the same form as in the two later texts. It may well be that a familiar scene in the lost version is here closely followed.

Now for the bearing of all this upon our main topic, the reasons for Hamlet's dilatoriness. The above discussion naturally suggests that Shakespeare, while retaining the crude story of revenge that was fixed in the public mind, gradually deepened and refined the character of Hamlet until it clashed with that story. Conscientious scruples against blood-revenge, I admit, are utterly foreign to the original tale. In spite of changes and additions, it may well be that the dramatist was so hampered by the fixed outlines of the accepted story that he was prevented from motiving the inactivity of the Prince as fully as he could otherwise have done. The energetic Hamlet retained from the old play accords but badly with the reflective, halting hero of a more intellectual age: the new wine bursts the old bottles.

Brandes says, in connection with this topic:—

“The old legend, with its harsh outlines, its mediæval order of ideas, its heathen groundwork under a varnish of dogmatic Catholicism, its assumption of vengeance as the unquestionable right, or rather duty, of the individual, did not very readily harmonise with the rich life of thoughts, dreams, and feelings which Shakespeare

imparted to his hero. There arose a certain discrepancy between the central figure and his surroundings. . . . But Shakespeare, with his consummate instinct, managed to find an advantage precisely in this discrepancy, and to turn it to account. His Hamlet believes in the ghost and — doubts. He accepts the summons to the deed of vengeance and — delays. Much of the originality of the figure, and of the drama as a whole, springs almost inevitably from this discrepancy between the mediæval character of the fable and its Renaissance hero, who is so deep and many-sided that he has almost a modern air.”¹

The loss of the pre-Shakespearean “Hamlet” makes it impossible to say just how much weight should be given to this line of argument.

V. HAMLET AS THE MOUTHPIECE OF SHAKESPEARE

All lovers of Shakespeare must admit the force of these words from Kreyssig, a German critic: “From the rich troop of his heroes, Shakespeare has chosen Hamlet as the exponent, to the spectators and to posterity, of all that lay nearest to his own heart.” The American poet-critic, Jones Very, speaks of “the tendency of Shakespeare to overact this particular part of Hamlet, and thus give it an obscurity from too close a connection with his own mind.”²

Though Rümelin goes too far in this particular direction, the following words concerning Shake-

¹ *William Shakespeare*, one-vol. edition, p. 367.

² *Poems and Essays*, p. 62.

speare's tendency to make Hamlet his own mouth-piece have much force : —

“ We must not fail to see that this use of the legend enters into the dramatic subject and into the course of the action as a somewhat foreign and disturbing element ; we must perceive that the legend, whose essential features the play still keeps, is in itself little fitted for the interpolation of an element so subjective and so modern.”

Let us look at some specific passages in the play that are evidently the personal utterances of Shakespeare. The reference to the child-actors, added in the First Folio, is clearly a “ local hit ” ; it comes from the dramatist, not from Hamlet and Rosenkrantz (II. ii. 353–79). The character of Osric is undoubtedly a satire on certain affectations of Shakespeare's own day. That Shakespeare himself is speaking when Hamlet instructs the players in the art of acting seems certain. Though Loening defends it ingeniously, the passage has no vital connection with the plot. The real reason why we have the lines is that Shakespeare had some things to say concerning the proper carriage, gesture, and elocution of an actor ; and no man will ever know how much strutting and bellowing the world has escaped because of this simple text-book of histrionics, known and read of all men.

The Sonnets of Shakespeare, in which he “ unlocked his heart,” echo with striking distinctness some of the complaints of the melancholy Prince of Denmark. The connection is especially marked

between the sixty-sixth Sonnet and some portions of the soliloquy beginning "To be or not to be."

Brandes points out that the following lines of the soliloquy just mentioned are "felt and thought from below upwards, not from above downwards, and that the words are improbable, almost impossible, in the mouth of the Prince":¹ —

"For who would bear the whips and scorns of time,
The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
The pangs of despised love, the law's delay,
The insolence of office, and the spurns
That patient merit of the unworthy takes,
When he himself might his quietus make
With a bare bodkin?"

III. i. 70-6.

In any performance of "Hamlet," that pearl, the Grave-diggers' scene, is sure to be presented (V. i. 1-240); but it has no dramatic justification, — that is, the action is in no way advanced. These are the deep musings of Shakespeare's own mind and heart, and we do not estimate them according to their purely dramatic value.

Our love for this play springs largely from the fact that Shakespeare, disregarding strictly dramatic considerations, has given freely to Hamlet the charm, the warmth, and the boundlessness of his own nature.

The bearing of this discussion upon our central inquiry may be stated as follows: our impression of Hamlet's dilatoriness is intensified by his long soliloquies and by his abundant comments upon the

¹ *William Shakespeare*, one-vol. edition, p. 365.

various problems of life ; but these utterances are in part the personal outpourings of Shakespeare himself, not called for by either the plot of the piece or the characterization : the hands are the hands of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob.

CONCLUSION

The Teutonic mind naturally looks upon the portrayal of character as the real purpose of the drama, and as "its own excuse." It is probably safe to say that Shakespeare has given in "Hamlet" the ultimate example of character-portrayal in drama. The completeness with which the nature and disposition of the Prince, his entire mental and moral being, are put before us is something which we are accustomed to find only in the wide-ranging, loosely constructed novel, not in the intense, concentrated, and sharply limited drama.

Dramatic criticism is inclined to insist that only those characteristics of the hero should be made prominent which really influence the course of the action ; and that these characteristics should be unmistakable. According to this standard "Hamlet" is certainly faulty. That the play is marked by an excess of monologue seems to be recognized by the omission from the First Folio of some of the utterances of the hero, including the sermon on drunkenness (I. iv. 17-38), and even the powerful soliloquy upon seeing the army of Fortinbras (IV. iv. 32-66 ; II. 9-31 are also omitted). Certain features in the management of the action have

also been pronounced by Goethe and others to be "extremely faulty." But it is not especially because of its defects that the world is not likely to see another "Hamlet": its marvelous excellences are a more conclusive reason. None but himself can bend the bow of Odysseus.

Before the reader decides which one of the possible reasons for Hamlet's inactivity he will adopt in making up his own theory of the play, let him ask himself, "Can I not accept a good number of them?" In many cases they are not exclusive and contradictory, but should be looked upon as complementary and harmonious. The large number of these reasons of itself makes it clear why there are so many opinions concerning the character of the hero. One critic accents one motive; another, another. Superficially their views may seem to themselves and others to be irreconcilable, while at bottom they may be largely at one.

Not only is it hardly possible for two critics to agree upon the same interpretation of the play; but one cannot altogether agree with himself for two successive readings. The considerations involved are so numerous that the reader is hardly able to give due weight to all of them; it is inevitable that he should be somewhat at the mercy of his mood.

At my present stage of development, my own theory as to the reasons for Hamlet's dilatoriness is somewhat as follows: I accept the first three grounds for Hamlet's delay indicated under the

first general division of this paper, namely: an excessive tendency to reflection, weakness of will, and especially a melancholy temperament and extreme sensitiveness. I find myself varying in the degree of emphasis which I give to these different factors, but I am not inclined to look upon the hero's excessive tendency to reflection as something really primary and causative. Under the second general division of the paper, I accent Hamlet's conscientious scruples against blood-revenge, and his natural aversion to killing the King.¹ It seems to me entirely reasonable and natural that all these qualities should be associated in one person. I believe further that Shakespeare was hampered in some measure by the fixed outlines of the accepted version of the old story; also that the fact that the dramatist expresses freely through the mouth of the Prince his own thoughts and feelings intensifies the impression of weakness and dilatoriness which Hamlet makes upon us. I give less prominence to the other considerations that have been mentioned, though I look upon some of them as having a measure of force. I oppose the purely objective explanation of Hamlet's delay advocated by Werder and some others.

The problem of Hamlet! Who shall altogether solve it? Even while we cherish the vain hope of doing this, some passage from the play comes to mind which accords but poorly with our elaborate solution. And then a princely form and careworn face rise up before us, and the pale lips say

¹ I put the main stress decidedly upon the second of these ideas. See Professor Bradley's *Shakespearean Tragedy*, pp. 97-101.

haughtily: "Why, look you now, how unworthy a thing you make of me! You would play upon me: you would seem to know my stops: you would sound me from my lowest note to the top of my compass: you would pluck out the heart of my mystery!"

NOTE.—Under the fourth division of this paper, "The Traces in *Hamlet* of an Older Play," attention should have been called to a full and scholarly article by Professor A. H. Thorndike, entitled "The Relations of *Hamlet* to Contemporary Revenge Plays," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. xvii. (1902), pp. 125–220. According to Professor Thorndike, "The final *Hamlet* owed its existence primarily to a marked stage fashion for revenge tragedies. . . . In responding to this stage demand Shakespeare used a plot, motives, scenes, situations, and types and traits of character which not only in the main part belonged to the old *Hamlet*, but which were also for the most part familiar in the other revenge plays."

THE AUTHOR'S COMMENT IN
"VANITY FAIR"

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IN speaking of the novels of Anthony Trollope, a few years ago, Mr. Howells praised that writer's "simple honesty and instinctive truth." Nevertheless, the critic tells us, Trollope "was so warped from a wholesome ideal as to wish at times to be like the caricaturist Thackeray, and to stand about in his scene, talking it over with his hands in his pockets, interrupting the action, and spoiling the illusion in which alone the truth of art resides."¹

Let us look for a time at the feature of Thackeray's art here referred to as it appears in "Vanity Fair." What shall we say of his frequent turning aside from his tale to grieve or to jest over human folly, to teach or to preach concerning man and life?

So far as there is any "body of doctrine" concerning the art of fiction, this practice is looked upon as a mistake. Aristotle, who wrote, as Mr. Bliss Perry has said, "with one eye on Kipling and Hardy," discusses in his "Poetics" just this same art of fiction. The ancient critic praises Homer as "the only poet who appreciates the part he should take himself," and tells us that the poet

¹ *Criticism and Fiction*, p. 75.

in his own person should speak as little as possible.

Thus the father of literary criticism and Mr. Howells, a living practitioner, are at one in this matter. For even old Mr. Osborne in "*Vanity Fair*," who "called kicking a footman down stairs a hint to the latter to leave his service," would find no difficulty in inferring from the passage already quoted the opinion of Mr. Howells concerning comments by the author in a work of fiction.

A teacher and novelist of our own day puts the matter more formally in these words:¹ "In a narrative the conditions are: first, that the story shall be told in a dramatic, straightforward way; secondly, that the characters shall reveal themselves wholly in action, which is done by dialogue and brief incidental descriptions on the part of the author. There should never be a general application of bits of analysis necessary to present individual actors. A moral should never be directly inculcated."

The simplest and the commonest way in which Thackeray turns aside from his story is by uttering in his own person some general truth suggested by a particular situation or by the general course of events. For example:—

"About their complaints and their doctors do ladies ever tire of talking to each other?" (*Vanity Fair*, XXV.)

"When women are brooding over their children, or

¹ Mary Harriott Norris, in a note to her school edition of *Silas Marner*.

busied in a sick-room, who has not seen in their faces those sweet angelic beams of love and pity?" (LXI.)

"In this vast town one has not the time to go and seek one's friends; if they drop out of the rank they disappear, and we march on without them. Who is ever missed in Vanity Fair?" (LXI.)

There are few if any story-tellers who do not indulge in short generalizations comparable to those just quoted. Perhaps Jane Austen, with her instinctive rightness of artistic method, is as free from them as any English novelist. The present writer has been unable to find a single one in "Pride and Prejudice." It is the worldly-wise Charlotte Lucas, and not Miss Austen, who tells us in that book that "in nine cases out of ten, a woman had better show more affection than she feels," and that "happiness in marriage is entirely a matter of chance." In "Mansfield Park," "Emma," and "Persuasion," this author occasionally allows herself to generalize; and her few comments of this sort are very spicy, very Jane-y, as these specimens will show:—

"... that favoring *something* which everybody who shuts their eyes while they look, or their understandings while they reason, feels the comfort of." (Mansfield Park, XI.)

"Human nature is so well disposed towards those who are in interesting situations, that a young person who either marries or dies is sure of being kindly spoken of." (Emma, XXII.)

Mr. Howells, whom we have found very severe toward the more obtrusive forms of author's com-

ment, is himself somewhat fond of dispensing wisdom in the form of brief generalizations.

"As they walked they sent those quivers and thrills over their thin coats which horses can give at will." (The Quality of Mercy, I.)

"She bent to look over the book with him, and he felt the ungovernable thrill at being near the beauty of a woman's face which a man never knows whether to be ashamed of or glad of, but which he cannot help feeling." (Ibid. XII.)

"We are each of us good for only a certain degree of advance in opinion; few men are indefinitely progressive." (Ibid. VII.)

Is it worth while to treat seriously these morsels of proffered wisdom? Suppose that the author does glance at a larger truth suggested by a character or a situation. Variety is the spice of fiction, as of life; and at any rate, the law of fiction, like other law, cares not for trifles.

It must be granted that generalizations coming in strictly explanatory passages may be either necessary or helpful in making important matters clear to the reader. Each case, also, should stand on its own merits; it would be impossible in a few words successfully to generalize about generalizing. We admit, moreover, that brief generalities of the kind that we have quoted above may constitute but a slight element in an elaborate novel. Yet it is in them that we can isolate and study in its simplest form that *bacillus commentarius* which infects English fiction, and which has done much to lessen

its artistic quality. A fundamental question is, Has the novelist some things to tell us that are *better* than his story, and separable from it? We think not. If any novel-reader is so lacking in common observation and so deficient in generalizing power as to be unable to infer that the quivers and thrills which run over the coats of a particular pair of horses are something "which horses can give at will," then let him die in his sins. It matters not. For the author to play the showman, to draw the morals and state all the suggested truths for his reader, seems too much like taking away from him his inalienable right to chew his food. And however spicy, novel, and valuable these nuggets of wisdom may be, is it well that they should interrupt the narrative itself? Is the writer's philosophy a better thing than his story? And even if it be better, should it be separated from the story? Will that philosophy be more effectively set forth in the abstract, or in a living form? It seems more in accordance with the nature of a work of fiction, more plainly a fulfillment of the law of its being, and decidedly more effective, that the truth there presented shall take on flesh; that without a parable, or apart from his parable, the novelist shall not speak unto us.

Brief generalizations by the author are not a grave matter. But the novelist who yields to the itching desire to display his wisdom in philosophical form is not likely to content himself long with tiny maxims slipped in at the joints of the story.

A single sentence is not enough. Little essays appear. The pleasure that the writer finds in airing his own reflections in his own person easily tempts him at times to steal from his own characters choice opportunities for commenting upon interesting subjects. The persons of the comedy are hushed up and driven off the stage, while the dramatist comes forward and discourses about experiences like the one just witnessed in the play, or upon some topic suggested thereby. A passage in Jane Austen's "Persuasion" concerning the beauties of Lyme, and one in "Northanger Abbey" in praise of novels, are illustrations of this. Each of these comes from the author in her own person, not from the actors in the story. Thackeray is sometimes guilty in "Vanity Fair" of thus stealing from his own characters. We learn "that Miss Sharp had no kind parent to arrange these delicate matters for her, and that if she did not get a husband for herself, there was no one else in the wide world who would take the trouble off her hands." (III.) We are then treated to a spicy little disquisition upon some of the common methods of husband-hunting of which Miss Sharp was unable to make use. But for this essay, Rebecca's own thoughts and feelings at this interesting point would probably have been set forth more sharply and fully.

In another place, instead of the raptures of Thackeray over "that beautiful Rhineland" we ought to have been given those of the impressionable Mrs. Amelia Osborne. As it is now, Amelia

sketches the scenery, but is not permitted to praise it. Thackeray will not even allow Joseph Sedley, just returned from India, to eulogize good porter. Surely, if Jos is to talk at all, here is his chance. But no: —

“The landlord said it did his eyes good to see Mr. Sedley take off his first pint of porter. If I had time and dared to enter into digressions, I would write a chapter about that first pint of porter drunk upon English ground. Ah, how good it is! It is worth while to leave home for a year, just to enjoy that one draught.” (LVIII.)

If it be allowable to speak thus freely of a novelist to whom we are all indebted, one may say that the decline and fall of George Eliot well illustrates the danger which threatens the writer of fiction who indulges in comment. In her successive novels the inserted sermons and dissertations kept growing longer and more numerous, until at last the impertinent story was dropped out altogether, and the pure juice of the grape “with no allaying Thames” was bestowed upon us in “The Impressions of Theophrastus Such.” But in the true scale of literary values, how many of “Such” are equivalent to one “Adam Bede”?

The headings of the chapters in “Vanity Fair” numbered thirty-six and thirty-seven are: “How to Live Well on Nothing a Year” and “The Subject Continued.” It is clear that the true theme of this part of the book is, — how Becky and Rawdon actually did live on nothing a year. In

these two chapters Thackeray very naturally wanders off at times in pursuit of the more general subject suggested by his title.

Sometimes the little essays pass into preaching, into moral exhortation; and sometimes the entire comment is a brief homily. In the first of the following cases the author carefully legitimates his sermon by passing it through the mind of his character.

“It may, perhaps, have struck her that to have been honest and humble, to have done her duty, and to have marched straight forward on her way, would have brought her as near happiness as that path by which she was striving to attain it. But, — just as the children at Queen’s Crawley went round the room where the body of their father lay; — if ever Becky had these thoughts, she was accustomed to walk round them, and not look in.” (XLI.)

Contrast with this the following: —

“Sick-bed homilies and pious reflections are, to be sure, out of place in mere story-books, and we are not going (after the fashion of some novelists of the present day) to cajole the public into a sermon, when it is only a comedy that the reader pays his money to witness. But, without preaching, the truth may surely be borne in mind, that the bustle, and triumph, and laughter, and gayety which *Vanity Fair* exhibits in public, do not always pursue the performer into private life, and that the most dreary depression of spirits and dismal repentances sometimes overcome him.” Etc. (XIX.)

Here Thackeray puts forth a sermon as Mr.

Joseph Jefferson's Rip Van Winkle takes in spirits, — after first declaring flatly that he won't.

The personal utterances of a novelist may be made very attractive if they have the charm of humor and a winning style. Thackeray gives to his comments a spice and variety which mollify the sternest critic. It is largely this infinite diversity and deftness of handling which so charm his readers that they are willing to defend this feature of his novels against all attacks whatever.

To address remarks directly to a character in the story is a naïve device, well known to Chaucer, that may be defended as enhancing the illusion, if used in moderation. "Oh, thou poor panting little soul!" — says our author to Amelia — "The very finest tree in the whole forest, with the straightest stem, and the strongest arms, and the thickest foliage, wherein you choose to build and coo, may be marked, for what you know, and may be down with a crash ere long." (XIII.) Again: "Poor simple lady, tender and weak — how are you to battle with the struggling violent world?" (L.)

Thackeray is very fond of illustrating a point by telling a brief parallel anecdote. The fact that the comment takes the narrative form lessens the sense of interruption; we are still listening to a story, even though it be "another story." When the quarrel between George Osborne and his father improved the pecuniary prospects of the Osborne sisters, and caused them to "rise not a little in their own esteem," the following anecdote, with

some intrusion of the author's personality, effectively sets forth and interprets the whole situation:

"It was but this present morning, as he rode on the omnibus from Richmond; while it changed horses, this present chronicler, being on the roof, marked three little children playing in a puddle below, very dirty, and friendly, and happy. To these three presently came another little one. '*Polly*,' says she, '*your sister's got a penny*.' At which the children got up from the puddle instantly, and ran off to pay their court to Peggy. And as the omnibus drove off I saw Peggy with the infantine procession at her tail, marching with great dignity towards the stall of a neighboring lollipop-woman." (XXIII.)

The emotional outbursts of the author often have a simplicity and spontaneity that take away in whole or in part the impression that one is reading a comment. "By heavens it is pitiful, the bootless love of women for children in *Vanity Fair*." (L.) "O you poor secret martyrs and victims, whose life is a torture, who are stretched on racks in your bedrooms, and who lay your heads down on the block daily at the drawing-room table; every man who watches your pains, or peers into those dark places where the torture is administered to you, must pity you — and — and thank God that he has a beard." (LVII.)

A remark or complaint is sometimes represented as coming from a reader of the story, from "Jones," or "some unknown correspondent," or "some carping reader," etc. At times the reader is directly

addressed; and perhaps no form of comment is more skillfully individualized and diversified than this. The author directs his remarks to "you," or to "you the reader," "brother reader," "my dear and civilized reader," "fair young reader," "my son," "friend," "my friend," "mesdames," "ladies," "Miss Smith," "my dear Miss Bullock." It may be questioned whether any little sermon in the book is more effective than one which is addressed to the reader. It is suggested by the illness of old Miss Crawley: "Picture to yourself, oh fair young reader, a worldly, selfish, graceless, thankless, religionless old woman, writhing in pain and fear, and without her wig. Picture her to yourself, and ere you be old, learn to love and pray." (XIV.)

Thackeray has many references to the necessary assumption that the author is all-wise regarding the story; and he often jokes about his own omniscience. "For novelists have the privilege of knowing everything." (III.) "If, a few pages back, the present writer claimed the privilege of peeping into Miss Amelia Sedley's bedroom, and understanding with the omniscience of the novelist all the gentle pains and passions which were tossing upon that innocent pillow, why should he not declare himself to be Rebecca's confidant too, master of her secrets, and seal-keeper of that young woman's conscience?" (XV.) "In the course of the evening Rawdon got a little family-note from his wife, which . . . we had the good luck to read over Rebecca's shoulder." (XXV.)

Thackeray often pretends to be in some doubt as to the true state of affairs in his story. In these cases the real situation is usually made clear to the reader, though a measure of uncertainty sometimes remains. "At this, I don't know in the least for what reason, Mrs. Sedley looked at her husband and laughed." (IV.) "Why was she so violently agitated at Dobbin's request? This can never be known." (XXIII.) "I protest it is quite shameful in the world to abuse a simple creature, as people of her time abuse Becky, and I warn the public against believing one-tenth of the stories against her." (LI.)

As to the question of Rebecca's guilt in her connection with Lord Steyne, Thackeray pleads ignorance. "Was she guilty or not? She said not; but who could tell what was truth which came from those lips; or if that corrupt heart was in this case pure?" (LIIL.) This is the only refusal to enlighten us regarding a matter that is important for the story.

Anthony Trollope, Thackeray's pupil, sometimes makes exasperating remarks about his narrative as an unreal fabrication which he can control at will. In marked contrast with this, "*Vanity Fair*" has a number of references to the story as a transcript from real life, and to the characters as flesh-and-blood beings personally known to the author. These touches are especially frequent in the chapter entitled "*Am Rhein*."

A fairly conclusive argument regarding the whole

subject of author's comment in this story is the fact that Thackeray's finest writing in "*Vanity Fair*" itself refutes this practice. When at his highest pitch of narrative inspiration, he has small desire to interrupt his story or ramble from it. The best opportunities for indulging in comment are then felt to be still better opportunities for doing without it, for letting the story make its own impression.

How much better than comment is the following conversation, just after Dobbin has bought back Amelia's piano for her at the auction !

" ' I wish we could have afforded some of the plate, Rawdon,' the wife continued sentimentally. ' Five-and-twenty guineas was monstrously dear for that little piano. We chose it at Broadwood's for Amelia, when she came from school. It only cost five-and-thirty then.'

" ' What d' ye-call 'em—Osborne, will cry off now, I suppose, since the family is smashed. How cut up your pretty little friend will be ; hey, Becky ?'

" ' I dare say she'll recover it,' Becky said, with a smile — and they drove on and talked about something else." (XVII.)

Some one may suggest that the effectiveness of the purely objective method in the extract just read comes in part from the contrast with those passages in the book in which Thackeray lingers to expatiate upon the significance of an incident or situation. But is it not true, rather, that the most marked quality of the brief dialogue just cited is the essential rightness and power of its artistic method ?

It seems hardly fair to say that Thackeray in this case *omits* the sermon which he might have given us. The sermon is not preached here, but it is not therefore omitted. It is *presented* through dialogue and action, and that is more effective than preaching. The mirror is here held up to nature; and we perceive life and homily, action and moral, in one indivisible whole. This little scene from real life is crammed with meaning, with lesson; and the meaning is vivid with life.

Even Thackeray's choicest remarks would have weakened any one of the following passages: —

“‘Here, you little beggars,’ Dobbin said, giving some sixpences amongst them, and then went off by himself through the rain. It was all over. They were married, and happy, he prayed God. Never since he was a boy had he felt so miserable and so lonely. He longed with a heart-sick yearning for the first few days to be over, that he might see her again.” (XXII.)

“Maria was bound, by superior pride and great care in the composition of her visiting-book, to make up for the defects of birth; and felt it her duty to see her father and sister as little as possible.” (XLII.)

“Osborne partially regained cognizance; but never could speak again, though he tried dreadfully once or twice, and in four days he died. The doctors went down, and the undertaker's men went up the stairs; and all the shutters were shut towards the garden in Russell Square. Bullock rushed from the City in a hurry. ‘How much money had he left to that boy? — not half, surely? Surely share and share alike between the three?’ It was an agitating moment.” (LXI.)

Among the strongest chapters of the book are, — that “In Which Mr. Osborne Takes Down the Family Bible,” the one about Brussels and the great ball, and that “In Which Jos Takes Flight, and the War is Brought to a Close.” The first two of these contain each a single brief generalization; in the third there are a few sentences of speculation as to whether Waterloo is likely to beget future battles between “two high-spirited nations.” With these exceptions there is no comment; and the last chapter mentioned closes with that triumph of artistic reticence: —

“No more firing was heard at Brussels — the pursuit rolled miles away. Darkness came down on the field and city: and Amelia was praying for George, who was lying on his face, dead, with a bullet through his heart.” (XXXII.)

The last five chapters of the book, nearly one tenth of the whole story, are almost entirely free from comment. The most marked instance of a personal utterance by the author is the passage in which Thackeray carefully explains that “the fashion at present prevailing” compels him to pass over “with lightness and delicacy” a portion of Rebecca’s history.

A natural division of the story begins near the middle of the fifty-first chapter, where we learn that “the amiable amusement of acting charades” had been brought in from France. This general section of the book may be considered to close with the establishment of Colonel Rawdon Craw-

ley as governor of Coventry Island. The central feature of this long portion of the narrative is the personal encounter between Rawdon and Lord Steyne. Throughout this portion of the novel the author is at his best. Some of the most attractive opportunities for comment occur, as enticing as any in the book, but they do not tempt him. His story is the best thing and the only thing that he has to tell us. Old Marshal Blücher never obeyed more heartily the command, "Forward! forward!" Here Thackeray himself shows unto us the more excellent way.

Undoubtedly the approval or condemnation of author's comment is in some degree a matter of temperament. To a mind of a certain type it is natural, almost instinctive, to observe the laws of the material with which one is working, and to adhere to the art-form which has been chosen, to perceive and respect the evident rules of the game. Such a person knows, with Goethe, that "It is working within limits that shows the master"; he is glad to be free from "the weight of too much liberty." He will not begin an ostensible narrative, and then interrupt it constantly to indulge in personal outpourings. He will look upon this as off-side play. An author of a different mental constitution, when writing a so-called novel, will make the work fairly drip with his personal feelings and opinions. Such an one will not understand Poe's demand that a novelist shall not scatter over his pages "at random a profusion of rich thought,"

but shall secure by "unremitting toil and patient elaboration . . . the beauty of Unity, Totality, Truth."

The contrast between these two types of mind is probably something permanent. It is partially and imperfectly represented by various pairs of opposed terms, such as classicism and romanticism, unity and variety, the excellence of the whole and the interest of the part.

There is also a national as well as an individual temperament to be considered. M. Brunetière tells us that English literature, as compared with the literature of France, is individualistic, marked by a passion for self-expression. He points out the abundance, diversity, and richness of English lyric poetry. This personal quality invades our fiction, and here it does not usually disturb even the well-educated English reader. The debate about author's comment will seem to him parallel to the question whether one should drink his coffee with or without sugar. Both are matters of taste, — "of *mere* taste," as he would probably express it. As a nation we have not much appreciation for "structural unity pervading all the elements of a composition, from the largest to the smallest."

Of course, the world of readers will always be glad to welcome such novels as those of Thackeray. Gold of this kind enriches us all, and the least we can do is to be grateful. But it is surely allowable to point out that these works exemplify both a more excellent way of story-telling and one

that is less admirable ; that they give us Thackeray both at his best and at something less than his best. :

No attempt has been made in this paper to cite authorities ; but in the Introduction to a recent edition of " Henry Esmond," edited by Professor W. L. Phelps, there are some interesting words that illuminate our present topic : —

" It is difficult to avoid superlatives in talking about ' Esmond.' It seems to be not only the best book Thackeray ever wrote, but the best historical romance in the English language. Indeed, many intelligent critics regard it as the finest work of fiction ever written by an Englishman. It is better than Thackeray's other books, because the noble style is so splendidly sustained ; because the characters are so impossible to forget ; and because it is so perfect a work of art, being fortunately free from the eternal preaching and sentimental footnotes that mar the text of his other books. Its artistic perfection may be partially accounted for by the following reasons : the story is told in the first person, a method that adds vividness to the narrative ; again, as the hero, and not the author is talking, Thackeray was compelled to omit the introduction of his own philosophy of life ; the publication in book form necessitated greater unity and coherence ; and the small size of the work, when compared with his other famous novels, was a distinct gain in the same direction, for novelists, like petitioners, are not heard for their much speaking."

Even if the strictures which have here been made upon " Vanity Fair " be accepted as sound, they

detract little from its essential greatness. A work of art lives by its positive power. In all that concerns the weightier matters of the law of fiction, "Vanity Fair" will always be a delight to readers and a model to writers.

STUDIES IN MACBETH

STUDIES IN MACBETH¹

I. ONE PHASE OF MACBETH'S CHARACTER

THERE is one person in the world of Shakespeare whose utterances are especially marked by the fine charm of true poetry. At the close of many of his speeches we are compelled to stop our reading to enjoy the musical, imaginative language. Our sympathy goes out instinctively to this instinctive poet. And this poet is that bloody and ever bloodier villain, the remorseless committer of murder upon murder, Macbeth.

In the tragedy of "Macbeth" two streams are ever flowing, — an unforced stream of exquisite poesy, and a stream of innocent blood shed by ruthless hands; and both of them find their source, their only and sufficient cause, in the soul of Macbeth. May it not be that this strange contrast will help us to interpret the character of the man?

It is clear that the strains of poetry which fall from the lips of Macbeth are entirely natural. The moment that he begins to make pretenses, to play a part, to say what prudence seems to dictate rather than what he feels, he passes from poetry to rheto-

¹ The first three studies are reprinted from *The Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1892; the remainder, from the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. xi. (1896).

ric. True poetry must be genuine, impassioned; must spring from sympathy. When Macbeth depicts the appearance of the murdered Duncan, and pretends that the unexpected sight overpowered him with horror and an irresistible impulse to slay the suspected grooms, we hear these hollow phrases:—

“ Here lay Duncan,
His silver skin laced with his golden blood;
And his gash'd stabs look'd like a breach in nature
For ruin's wasteful entrance: there, the murderers,
Steep'd in the colours of their trade, their daggers
Unmannerly breech'd with gore: who could refrain,
That had a heart to love, and in that heart
Courage to make 's love known? ”

II. iii. 117-124.

Later in the play, Macbeth speaks to the physician concerning the illness of Lady Macbeth. Here his words come from the heart, and he says:—

“ Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased,
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,
Raze out the written troubles of the brain,
And with some sweet oblivious antidote
Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff
Which weighs upon the heart? ”

V. iii. 40-45.

What relation does this poetical faculty of Macbeth bear to his real character? Let us analyze his first soliloquy, and see what it teaches us (I. vii. 1-28). He trembles before the danger to himself which attends the killing of Duncan, even though he is willing to “jump the life to come.” Then he dwells upon the guilt of the intended murder. He

is at once the kinsman, the subject, and the host of Duncan.

“ Besides, this Duncan
Hath borne his faculties so meek, hath been
So clear in his great office, that his virtues
Will plead like angels, trumpet-tongued, against
The deep damnation of his taking-off.”

I. vii. 16-20.

There are eight lines more in the same strain. Surely now Macbeth will not murder Duncan! Ah, *now* he surely will. He has looked fairly and fully at the crime; but the honest impulses of his heart and the awfulness of the coming murder have been treated as materials for thrilling rhapsodies, not as grounds for right decision and for instant action. The moment for a hearty, virtuous choice of the good is of set purpose given up to sentimentalizing, to poetizing. Such a moment will not return; and whenever his moral instincts shall again revolt against the crime, though less vigorously, utterance can be given them and their strength can be dissipated by the same process of poetizing.

Macbeth so revels in poetry, in æsthetic harmony, that these things are often more real to him than external dangers. At the close of the soliloquy in which he sees the dagger in the air, just before the murder of Duncan, he says:—

“ Now o’er the one half-world
Nature seems dead, and wicked dreams abuse
The curtain’d sleep; now witchcraft celebrates
Pale Hecate’s offerings, and wither’d murder,
Alarum’d by his sentinel, the wolf,
Whose howl ’s his watch, thus with his stealthy pace,

With Tarquin's ravishing strides, towards his design
 Moves like a ghost. Thou sure and firm-set earth,
 Hear not my steps, which way they walk, for fear" —

Of what? Of detection?

— "for fear

Thy very stones prate of my whereabouts,
 And take the present horror from the time,
 Which now suits with it."

II. i. 49-60.

The whole situation is such an exquisite harmony of gloom, gives to the æsthetic sense of Macbeth such keen pleasure, that, even as he goes to murder Duncan, he fears — that this harmony may be disturbed.

When Macbeth, at a later time, gives his wife an intimation of the intended murder of Banquo, he cannot deny himself the pleasure of accumulating about the coming crime a mass of poetic detail: —

"Ere the bat hath flown

His cloister'd flight, ere to black Hecate's summons
 The shard-borne beetle with his drowsy hums
 Hath rung night's yawning peal, there shall be done
 A deed of dreadful note."

III. ii. 40-44.

The connection between words and deeds in any character is easily broken. "'T is a kind of good deed to say well" has been the flattering unction that has excused many a speaker from trying to live up to his own words. The utterance of fine sentiments easily becomes in any life, not a stimulus, but a soporific. Probably every successful preacher of righteousness could testify that he is constantly

tempted in the most subtle ways to take an unlawful part in the world-wide division of labor by becoming, in one form or another, a sayer of the truth, and not a doer. Macbeth allows his conscience to frame his words, partly at least, in order that it may disturb him less in his guilty act.

Lady Macbeth knows not how firm the purpose of her husband is. She has heard his fine speeches ever since their wooing days, and cannot believe that they mean so little as they do in terms of action. She would fain think that the lips that have called her "dearest chuck" have behind all their utterances the entire personality of the speaker. She knows that Macbeth has ambition, but thinks him to be without the moral "illness" that should attend it. His profusion of fine words and sentiments misleads her. She does not know — he does not fully know — that his compassion and reluctance are only imaginative, while his ambition is real. Lady Macbeth's awful boldness appears to her to be forced upon her by the weakness of her husband. Though he first resolved upon the murder (I. iv. 50-53) and broke the enterprise to her (I. vii. 48), he is glad to play the part of the timid, frightened criminal, whose guilt is due to the master mind that controls him. Imaginary fears, a deep shrinking and shuddering of the soul in view of crime, are natural to him, and give him a strange, thrilling pleasure; while the fierce energy which his supposed remorse arouses in Lady Macbeth serves, in his view, both to throw upon her a large

share of the guilt and to make the death of Duncan more certain. "The weird sisters" are but a personification, a dramatizing, of those dark promptings which swarm in every soul that is secretly inclined to evil. As the sentimentalist sheds tears over imaginary suffering, and is unmoved at real distress, so Macbeth shakes like a reed in the wind before the thought of a murder which "yet is but fantastical"; and then, deliberately, in spite of a vibrating sensitiveness which completely deceives his wife, and which partially deceives both Macbeth himself and the readers of the play, moves on "towards his design."

Like all things else, the death of his wife furnishes Macbeth a theme for poetry; and the last pleasure that he knows, except the savage delight of battle, is the sad joy of singing an exquisite death-song to the faithful partner of his guilt. Having treated the moral realities of life, its most real things, as visionary, as mere materials for poetry, all things seem to be but parts of an unreal phantasm; and he would fain persuade himself that they are so. Having emptied life and death of every good meaning, he longs to believe that they mean nothing.

"To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
 Creeps in this petty pace from day to day
 To the last syllable of recorded time,
 And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
 The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle!
 Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
 That struts and frets his hour upon the stage

And then is heard no more : it is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing."

V. v. 19-28.

Alas, Macbeth !

II. THE KNOCKING AT THE GATE

One function of the chorus in the Greek tragedies was to anticipate and announce the terrible catastrophe which hangs over some guilty soul. The voice of fate, the anger of the offended gods, the instincts of the human heart, which could not come to utterance through the characters in the drama, found in the chorus an impersonal and powerful lyric expression.

The drama of the Greeks had a lyrical origin, and made effective use of the song element, which it ever retained. But the chorus, with all its power, is foreign to the drama ; it is a non-dramatic element. The songs interrupt the action, and make it seem unreal.

There are two situations in "Macbeth" where an effect analogous to the most powerful utterances of the Greek chorus is secured with no sacrifice of dramatic reality. The broken moral law, the anger of Heaven, the coming doom of the guilty, find thrilling expression in the very action itself. The acting forms are men, but the voice that speaks to us is the voice of God. These two situations are the knocking at the gate after the murder of Duncan, and the sleep-walking scene.

In commenting upon the knocking at the gate, the writer cannot hope to add anything to the powerful essay of De Quincey which treats of this incident ; but he desires to put into every-day language a portion of the thought which has there been expressed in more philosophical form.

We have been conscious during the rapid preparations for the murder of Duncan, and the hurried conversation which follows it, that the voice of conscience has been rudely choked down. Immediately after the deed, to be sure, Macbeth gives poetical utterance to the moral war that is waging within him. Two of the sleepers in the castle have waked for a moment from uneasy slumber, and their drowsy words have stirred the conscience of Macbeth.

“ *Macb.* . . . I could not say ‘ Amen,’
 When they did say ‘ God bless us !’
Lady M. Consider it not so deeply.
Macb. But wherefore could not I pronounce ‘ Amen ’ ?
 I had most need of blessing, and ‘ Amen ’
 Stuck in my throat.”

But words are things to Lady Macbeth, though they are not to her husband, and she tells him : —

“ These deeds must not be thought
 After these ways ; so, it will make us mad.”

Still he continues : —

“ Methought I heard a voice cry ‘ Sleep no more !
 Macbeth does murder sleep,’ the innocent sleep,
 Sleep that knits up the ravell’d sleeve of care,
 The death of each day’s life, sore labour’s bath,
 Balm of hurt minds, great nature’s second course,
 Chief nourisher in life’s feast, —

Lady M.

What do you mean ?

Macb. Still it cried 'Sleep no more !' to all the house :
'Glamis hath murder'd sleep, and therefore Cawdor
Shall sleep no more ; Macbeth shall sleep no more.' "

II. ii. 29-43.

Then Lady Macbeth puts a stop to the utterances of conscience, and turns her whole attention, and in a measure his and ours, to the purely practical question, how they shall avoid detection. And now the unwelcome voice of conscience flies from the breasts which refuse to harbor it. Suddenly, through the awful darkness, there comes a summons ; the walls cry out. The thoughts, the fears, which throng the minds of the guilty pair and of the shuddering spectators, find in the knocking at the gate a weird, a startling, and an adequate expression. This unexpected voice, seeming to come from no fixed place, and having no apparent cause except the tragic tension which demands it, stimulates the imagination almost beyond endurance, and heightens the tension that it appears to relieve.

Just before the knocking we have been isolated from the world, and our intellectual sympathy has been given to Macbeth and his wife. Their moral sense and ours is for the moment stifled. What voice shall call us back to the world of moral law, of humane, human living ?

The knocking at the gate is, first of all, a sharp challenge from the outer world of every-day life. The morality of that outer world is, indeed, conventional and imperfect ; but the sharp contrast

between the normal, every-day life of men, their common loves and hates, and the awful crime which has just taken place in the little world of Macbeth and his wife, is brought home to us with a blow by the sudden sound of the knocking.

It is not only to the world of men and its standards, however, that Macbeth, his wife, and we are to be called back. Therefore no human voice can adequately challenge the guilty pair. Macbeth would put on a bold front before any man, and our intellectual sympathy would go with him. Any human words would fail to express the blackness of his guilt; but the knocking, inarticulate, impersonal, having no visible cause, — this can be the very voice of God, and it is.

There is something suggestive in the rhythm of the mysterious knocking. Rhythm is the expression of all life. Our hearts beat out the rhythm of our lives. Day and night, in their alternation, make up the vast rhythm of our universe. "The father of rhythm," says an old seer, "is God."

To the startled apprehension of Macbeth this rhythmic knocking is the throbbing of that moral life of the world which he has refused to regard. To a cold, unsympathetic reader it may seem an absurdity to say it, but Macbeth hears vaguely in the knocking the tramp! tramp! of those moral forces that shall not cease their march until, out of the wreck of this world, there shall arise the new heavens and the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. Against these forces, which must win,

Macbeth has set himself. Henceforth the "stars in their courses" will fight against him, and he knows it. With a sudden burst of hopeless remorse, which yet is not true contrition, he cries:—

"Wake Duncan with thy knocking! I would thou couldst!"

II. ii. 74.

III. WHY IS THE SLEEP-WALKING SCENE IN PROSE?

Hudson comments as follows upon the fact that this scene, "which is more intensely tragic than any other in Shakespeare, is all, except the closing speech, written in prose":—

"I suspect the matter is too sublime, too austere, grand, to admit of anything so artificial as the measured language of verse, even though the verse were Shakespeare's; and that the Poet, as from an instinct of genius, saw or felt that any attempt to heighten the effect by any such arts or charms of delivery would unbrace and impair it. . . . Is prose, then, after all, a higher form of speech than verse? There are strains in the New Testament which no possible arts of versification could fail to belittle and discrown."¹

The writer cannot help feeling that these very suggestive words of the accomplished critic, so far as they respect this scene, are somewhat beside the point. Words are only a part of the language of the drama, and sometimes they are but a small part. The plays of Shakespeare, of course, were not written, primarily, to be read. It is not the diction, the literary form, of this scene which im-

¹ *Harvard Shakespeare*, vol. xvii. p. 107.

presses us; it is the action, and most of all the situation. It is only scattered fragments of speech that Lady Macbeth utters. Direct, artless prose, moreover, "unbound speech," seems to be the natural and necessary form of her utterances. Nothing else would befit the unconsciousness of slumber.

What is it that stirs us in this scene? Who is acting? The servant and the doctor are but spectators, like ourselves, and Lady Macbeth is locked in sleep. It is the invisible world of moral reality which is made strangely manifest before our eyes. Lady Macbeth would not reveal these guilty secrets for all the wealth of all the world, but in the awful war that is waging in her breast her will is helpless. Her feet, her hands, her lips, conspire against her. In the presence of the awful, unseen Power that controls her poor, divided self, we hush the breath and bow the head.

IV. THE WORDS OF THE SLEEP-WALKING SCENE

The power of the sleep-walking scene in "Macbeth" is due primarily, as has just been noted, to the impressive situation, rather than to the inherent forcibleness of the broken sentences which are spoken by the guilty queen. A strong drama puts before us vivid scenes from real life. But in real life itself, men are continually masking and posing. Not only do we mask and pose to one another, we do it to ourselves, and that continually. In this

powerful scene, however, more real than real life, the mask falls off, all disguises drop away, and that which confronts us is a naked soul.

But it is also true that the great dramatist has given especial potency to the words of this scene. The few and seemingly chance utterances of Lady Macbeth have an inspired adequacy. The phrases cut like a knife, — like the dagger that stabbed Duncan. Note the fitness of the simple words which come at the end of the second speech of the sleeping queen : —

“Yet who would have thought the old man to have had so much blood in him ? ”

When Lady Macbeth first incited her husband to make away with Duncan, she willed the death of the aged king indeed, but not its shocking accessories. She thought not of them. When Macbeth comes from the murdered one, she urges him : —

“Go get some water,
And wash this filthy witness from your hand.”
II. ii. 46-7.

But not yet does she appreciate the spectacle that the inner chamber has in store for her. She starts to carry back the daggers, saying, —

“If he do bleed,
I’ll gild the faces of the grooms withal ;
For it must seem their guilt.”

II. 55-7.

With this thought “If he do bleed” in her mind, she enters the chamber, and views the startling sight which her eyes are to behold forever.

The ordinary peace-loving man is as little prepared to appreciate what she saw as she was to see it. Such an one is unfamiliar with the shedding of human blood, knows not how easily and abundantly it can flow. And the woman's heart of Lady Macbeth was all unprepared to behold the streaming life-blood of the kindly old king, pleading

“ trumpet-tongued, against
The deep damnation of his taking-off.”

The ghastly vision prints itself indelibly upon her brain ; and all her womanly sensibilities receive a shock which only the long remorse of coming days and the restless torture of coming nights can adequately measure.

But she is not the woman to turn back now. She dips her hand in the old man's blood and smears the faces of the sleeping grooms. The sight, the feeling of the warm blood upon her little hand, and the odor of it, are strange experiences to her. What if she should find herself unable to wash off the stain ? What if Heaven should doom her to carry the mute witness of guilt about with her forever ? At least it seems an endless while before the blood is cleansed away. The dreadful memory of all this comes out in the troubled dream of the sleep-walker, in the frightened cry : —

“ What, will these hands ne'er be clean ? ”

Holmes, in the “ Autocrat of the Breakfast Table,” calls attention to the intimate connection between the sense of smell and the memory. Most

persons can testify that certain odors bring back the scenes of one's childhood with a vividness which is more intense than that caused by any other stimulus. It is largely the odors of the springtime that bind together all the years of the past and the rapture of the present season. It is, in great measure, these pungent odors that make

"the soul's fresh youth with tender truth
Still spring to the springing grass."

Maurice Thompson sings: —

"A breath from tropical borders,
Just a ripple, flowed into my room,
And washed my face clean of its sadness,
Blew my heart into bloom."

This subtle sense of smell can also summon up from the past that which is awful. Listen to the guilty queen: —

"Here 's the smell of the blood still: all the perfumes of Arabia
will not sweeten this little hand. Oh, oh, oh!"

It is because of such nights of horror that she dares not face the kindly shadows which God intended for repose. She has given command that light be by her continually.

Thus does Lady Macbeth once more live through, in restless dreaming, the murder of Duncan. Once more by sight and touch and smell has her sensitive spirit been wounded. Through hearing alone among the nobler senses has she received no shock. But hark! again that startling challenge comes through the darkness!

"There 's knocking at the gate: come, come, come, come, give
me your hand. What 's done cannot be undone. —To bed, to bed,
to bed!"

V. THE SHOW OF EIGHT KINGS

Ghostly forms of the eight Scottish kings of the house of Stuart — Robert II., Robert III., and the six Jameses — are made to appear and pass before Macbeth in a dumb show (IV. i.). These are the descendants of Banquo, who are to rule over Scotland. But why is Mary Stuart omitted, who between the reigns of James V. and James VI. was the nominal sovereign for a full quarter of a century? To be sure the literal promise to Banquo was, "Thou shalt get *kings*"; but Mary was a sovereign, if not a king; and what a fine fitness would there have been in bringing into this drama, though but for a moment, her bewitching form! "Macbeth" is a tragedy of blood, and in it eager female beings appear, earthly and un-earthly, and tempt to evil deeds. Surely the beautiful Queen of Scots would have been a most appropriate and suggestive figure in that dumb show!

There is one reason, however, for the omission of Mary Stuart which perhaps constitutes a sufficient explanation. In "A Midsummer-Night's Dream" (II. i. 155-64) Shakespeare had paid a honeyed compliment to Elizabeth, the great antagonist of the lovely Stuart queen; but he was now, in 1606, the loyal subject of James I. He naturally felt, we may suppose, that it would be unpleasant and impolitic to remind his sovereign and his audiences of the character and fate of the

king's mother, the unhappy Mary. Her interesting figure may well have been excluded from the dumb show for this reason, irrespective of artistic considerations.

VI. THE WEIRD SISTERS

Strangely enough the word *weird* has come into modern English entirely from its use in "Macbeth." The word occurs six times in this play as usually printed: five times in the expression "weird sisters" (I. iii. 32; I. v. 8; II. i. 20; III. iv. 133; IV. i. 136), and once in the phrase "the weird women" (III. i. 2). Stranger still, *weird* does not appear at all in the only authoritative text of the tragedy, that of the First Folio. In that edition the word is *weyward* in the first three passages in the play, and *weyard* in the last three. It was Theobald, the dearest foe of Pope, who saw that Shakespeare must have written *weird*, and that this rare word had been changed because of "the ignorance of the copyists." Modern editors accept the suggestion of Theobald; but I believe that the full force of the word *weird* is often unapprehended, even by special students of the play.

In Anglo-Saxon literature, "Wyrd" is the name of the personified goddess of fate. Wyrd is "the lord of every man." The word is also a common noun; each man has his own wyrd, or destiny.

In Chaucer we find these lines:—

"But O, Fortune, executrice of wierdes [fates, destinies]."

Troilus and Criseyde, III. 617.

"The Wirdes, that we clepen [call] Destinee."

The Legend of Good Women, 2580 (IX. 19).

In the second of these lines we have a personification, but the conception is of more than one Wyrð.

A passage in the Scotch translation of Vergil's *Æneid*, written about 1513 by Gawin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, translates "*Parcæ*" (Book III. 379) by the phrase "the werd sisteris."

Shakespeare's source for the story of Macbeth was Holinshed's "*Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*," published in 1577. The evidence of this work is decisive in favor of changing *weyward* and *weyard* to *weird*. The following passage from Holinshed will especially concern us: —

"It fortunèd as Makbeth and Banquho iournied towards Fores, where the king then laie, they went sporting by the waie together without other companie, saue onelie themselues, passing thorough the woods and fields, when suddenlie in the midst of a laund, there met them *three women in strange and wild apparell, resembling creatures of elder world*, whome when they attentiuely beheld, woondering much at the sight, the first of them spake and said; All haile Makbeth, thane of Glammis (for he had latelie entered into that dignitie and office by the death of his father Sinell.) The second of them said; Haile Makbeth thane of Cawder. But the third said; All haile Makbeth that heereafter shalt be king of Scotland.

"Then Banquho; What manner of women (saith he) are you, that seeme so little fauourable vnto me, whereas to my fellow heere, besides high offices, ye assigne also

the kingdome, appointing foorth nothing for me at all? Yes (saith the first of them) we promise greater benefits vnto thee, than vnto him, for he shall reigne in deed, but with an vnluckie end: neither shall he leaue anie issue behind him to succeed in his place, where contrarilie thou in deed shalt not reigne at all, but of thee those shall be borne which shall gouern the Scottish kingdome by long order of continuall descent. Herewith the foresaid women vanished immediatlie out of their sight. This was reputed at the first but some vaine fantasticall illusion by Mackbeth and Banquho, insomuch that Banquho would call Mackbeth in iest, king of Scotland; and Mackbeth againe would call him in sport likewise, the father of manie kings. But afterwards the common opinion was, that these women were either *the weird sisters, that is (as ye would say) the goddesses of destinie*, or else some nymphs or feiries indued with knowledge of prophesie by their necromanticall science, bicause euerie thing came to passe as they had spoken." ¹

In the Scandinavian mythology, as it was preserved in Iceland, "Urthr" was the eldest and the most prominent of the three Norns, or sister-Fates. The loss of an initial *w* disguises the identity of the word with the name of the Anglo-Saxon goddess of fate, "Wyrð." Both words are to be connected with the Latin *vertere*, the German *werden*, the Icelandic *vertha*, and the Anglo-Saxon *weorthan*. Apparently because the name "Urthr" is made from that form of the verbal stem which appeared in the plural of the past tense, this goddess came to be looked upon especially as the fate

¹ Furness' *Variorum Macbeth*, 363-4. Italics not in Holinshed.

of the past (*des Gewordenes*). Professor E. Mogk¹ thinks that it was bungling word-play (*junges, isländisches Machwerk*) of the twelfth century which first gave to the two sisters of Urthr, the fates of the present and future, the names "Verthandi" (pronounced *werthandi*—*die Werdende*, the goddess of that which is now *coming to be*—from the same verb as "Urthr") and "Skuld" (allied to *shall, soll*). The three Norns guard one of the three roots of Ygdrasil, the great Ash-tree of Existence. Urthr and Verthandi, the Past and Present, stretch a web from east to west, "from the radiant dawn of life to the glowing sunset, and Skuld, the Future, tears it to pieces."

"The weird sisters," therefore, is a phrase which means "the fate sisters," or the Sister Fates. Schmidt's explanation of *weird*, in his "Shakespeare-Lexicon," as "subservient to Destiny," fails to bring out the dignity of the word both in Holinshed and Shakespeare. The weird sisters are not subservient to Destiny; they *are* Destiny.

The commentators have not noticed, apparently, that the weird sisters speak to Macbeth and Banquo in character, as the Norns of the Past, Present, and Future.² This fact, which seems to be true in a general way of their speeches in Holinshed, comes out very clearly in Shakespeare.

¹ Paul's *Grundriss der germ. Philologie*, i. 1024.

² Dowden, however, has this sentence: "When they have given him the three hails—as Glamis, as Cawdor, and as King; the hail of the past, of the present, of the future—Macbeth starts." *Shakspeare—His Mind and Art*, p. 222.

"Enter MACBETH and BANQUO.

Macbeth. So foul and fair a day I have not seen.

Banquo. How far is 't call'd to Forres? What are these
So wither'd and so wild in their attire,
That look not like the inhabitants o' the earth,
And yet are on 't? Live you? or are you aught
That man may question? You seem to understand me,
By each at once her chappy finger laying
Upon her skinny lips: you should be women,
And yet your beards forbid me to interpret
That you are so.

Macbeth. Speak, if you can: what are you?

1. [Urthr, the Past.] All hail, Macbeth! hail to thee, thane
of Glamis!

2. [Verthandi, the Present.] All hail, Macbeth! hail to thee,
thane of Cawdor! [This title the king is now bestowing upon
him, perhaps at this very instant. In Holinshed, it is 'shortlie
after' the three women meet the two warriors that the king honors
Macbeth by making him thane of Cawdor.]

3. [Skuld, the Future.] All hail, Macbeth, thou shalt be king
hereafter!"

I. iii. 38-50.

It is not so plain that the three sisters speak in
character in what is said to Banquo in the tragedy,
but I do not think that we force the meaning if
we interpret these speeches in the same way as the
previous ones.

"*Banquo*

If you can look into the seeds of time,
And say which grain will grow and which will not,
Speak then to me, who neither beg nor fear
Your favours nor your hate.

1. Hail!

2. Hail!

3. Hail!

1. [The Past.] Lesser [by birth] than Macbeth [the cousin of
the king], and greater [in integrity, because he has been harbour-
ing a wicked ambition].

2. [The Present.] Not so happy, yet much happier [*i. e.*, not so fortunate [as Macbeth in securing a present mark of honour], but much more blessed.' — Schmidt].

3. [The Future.] Thou shalt get kings, though thou be none :
So all hail, Macbeth and Banquo !

1. Banquo and Macbeth, all hail ! "

I. iii. 58-69.

It may be that Shakespeare's exact division of the rôles into Past, Present, and Future, is in a measure accidental, being suggested by Holinshed in the case of the speeches to Macbeth, and simply repeated in the words addressed to Banquo. It seems probable, however, that the careful distinction observed here between the three Norns is intentional. That "the weird sisters" are those "creatures of elder world," the mighty goddesses of destiny, can hardly be questioned. They are not called witches in the play itself, but always "the weird sisters" or "the weird women"; though one of them tells of the circumstances under which a sailor's wife said to her, "Aroint thee, witch !" (I. iii. 6). The only other use of the word *witch* in the text of the play occurs when a "witches' mummy" is mentioned (IV. i. 23) among the many uncanny things which, in the cauldron,

"Like a hell-broth boil and bubble."

The word *weird*, as has been said, was taken into modern English from "Macbeth." Its significance, however, has not been understood. The word in its present use is an adjective, and has a range of meaning indicated by the words *wild*,

mysterious, uncanny, unearthly, ghostly; weird in "Macbeth" was vaguely felt to express this combination of ideas. In the Scotch dialect of English the word has not died out, and retains the older meaning, *fate, destiny*. The word is common in Scott; for example, Meg Merrilies in "Guy Mannering" speaks often of the "weird," or destiny, of Harry Bertram.

VII. DID SHAKESPEARE REPRESENT THE WEIRD SISTERS AS WITCHES ?

The powerful conception of the three Fates, "the weird sisters," is not maintained throughout the tragedy of "Macbeth," as every reader knows. In the opening scene of the play, and in that part of Scene iii. Act I. which precedes the entrance of Macbeth and Banquo, we have simply three witches, — witches of exceptional power and malignancy, but not the great goddesses of destiny.

In Scene v. of Act III. the sisters are degraded still farther to inferior and disobedient witches. Their queen Hecate reprimands them for acting without informing her and allowing her to play a part. This distressing scene reaches a climax of unfitness when Hecate suggests that Macbeth has pretended to be in love with the hags : —

" *First Witch.* Why, how now, Hecate ! you look angrily.

Hecate. Have I not reason, beldams as you are,
 Saucy and overbold ? How did you dare
 To trade and traffic with Macbeth
 In riddles and affairs of death ;
 And I, the mistress of your charms,
 The close contriver of all harms,

Was never call'd to bear my part,
Or show the glory of our art ?
And, which is worse, all you have done
Hath been but for a wayward son,
Spiteful and wrathful, who, as others do,
Loves for his own ends, not for you."

III. v. 1-13.

Many students of Shakespeare are convinced that "Macbeth" has not been preserved for us in the exact form in which Shakespeare wrote it. The evidence for this view is very strong, almost conclusive; yet no passage need be surrendered that lovers of Shakespeare care to claim as his. The author of the un-Shakespearean portions of "Macbeth" has been thought to be Thomas Middleton, principally because the two songs called for in the unfitting Hecate parts of the play — of which songs the opening words only are given (III. v. 33 and IV. i. 43) — were found in full in Middleton's play "The Witch," discovered in manuscript about 1779.

Since it is believed that the play has been tampered with, some scholars have been inclined to say that the portions in which the weird sisters act as witches were probably not written by Shakespeare. Hudson takes this view for the most part, but he cannot deny the genuineness of the powerful cauldron scene, although witches are here presented, engaged in the practice of witchcraft. I quote his striking defense of the fitness of this passage: —

"Is there any way to account for the altered language

and methods used in the cauldron business, without dispossessing the Weird Sisters of their proper character? Let us see.

"The Weird Sisters of course have their religion; though, to be sure, that religion is altogether Satanic. For so essential is religion of some kind to all social life and being, that even the society of Hell cannot subsist without it. Now, every religion, whether human or Satanic, has, and must have, a liturgy and ritual of some sort, as its organs of action and expression. The Weird Sisters know, by supernatural ways, that Macbeth is burning to question them further, and that he has resolved to pay them a visit. To instruct and inspire him in a suitable manner, they arrange to hold a religious service in his presence and behalf. And they fitly employ the language and ritual of witchcraft, as being the only language and ritual which he can understand and take the sense of: they adopt, for the occasion, the sacraments of witchcraft, because these are the only sacraments whereby they can impart to him the Satanic grace and efficacy which it is their office to dispense. The language, however, and ritual of witchcraft are in their use condensed and intensified to the highest degree of potency and impressiveness. Thus their appalling infernal liturgy is a special and necessary accommodation to the senses and the mind of the person they are dealing with. It really seems to me that they had no practicable way but to speak and act in this instance just like witches, only a great deal more so."¹

We naturally feel that it not only degrades the weird sisters to put them before us as witches, but that witches make vulgar and unfitting characters

¹ *Harvard Shakespeare*, xvii. 130.

at the best in a serious drama. Let us attempt for a moment, however, to identify ourselves with Shakespeare, the actor and playwright, seeking to impress an Elizabethan audience.

To the men of that day witches were a reality. The world of witchcraft was dark and mysterious, but it was real. "Macbeth" seems to have been written about the year 1606. Nine years before this, King James VI. of Scotland published "a learned and painful" treatise to prove that every Christian must necessarily believe in witchcraft, and in this work all the minutiae of the subject were duly expounded. In March, 1603, he became king of England also, by the death of Elizabeth. During the first year of his reign over the double kingdom, and perhaps partly in compliment to his convictions and expert knowledge on the subject, a new statute against witchcraft was passed, which remained in force until 1736. Listen to the solemn utterances of this law : —

"If any person or persons shall use, practice, or exercise any invocation or conjuration of any evil and wicked spirit, or shall consult, covenant with, entertain, employ, feed, or reward any evil and wicked spirit to or for any intent or purpose, or take up any dead man, woman, or child out of his, her, or their grave or any other place where the dead body resteth, or the skin, bone, or any part of any dead person, to be employed or used in any manner of witchcraft, sorcery, charm, or enchantment, or shall use, practice, or exercise any witchcraft, enchantment, charm, or sorcery, whereby any person shall be killed, destroyed, wasted, consumed, pined,

or lamed in his or her body or any part thereof," every such offender is a felon without benefit of clergy.¹

In 1665, at the trial of some Suffolk witches, Sir Thomas Browne, the well-known author of the "Religio Medici," testified as an expert in favor of the reality of witchcraft. Sir Matthew Hale, afterward lord chief justice of England, presided at the trial; and in summing up the case, adduced Scripture in support of his own belief in the real existence of witches.

Shakespeare had been dead seventy-six years when the witchcraft delusion of 1692 broke out in Salem village. The prosecutions were brought under the statute of James I.; but undoubtedly the command which, in the minds of the colonists, seemed at the time to justify the executions was that in Exodus xxii. 18: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." Professor Henry Ferguson well says:—

"It should always be remembered that belief in witchcraft was not a peculiarity of New England, and that the reason the colonists there have been judged so hardly for their panic is that men have felt that they had claimed to be superior to the men of their generation, and thus should be measured by a higher standard."²

More than a hundred years after "Macbeth" was written, Addison describes for us Sir Roger de Coverley, who, though the leading squire of his county and a model country gentleman, "would fre-

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under "Witchcraft."

² *Essays in American History*, p. 61.

quently have bound " poor old Moll White " over to the county sessions, had not his chaplain with much ado persuaded him to the contrary."

But more illuminating for us is the opinion of Addison himself, who declares, after a careful and serious argument: " I believe in general that there is, and has been, such a thing as witchcraft; but at the same time can give no credit to any particular instance of it." ¹

The " *Encyclopædia Britannica* " gives, as the last trial for witchcraft in England, that of Jane Wenham in 1712. She was convicted, but not executed. The statute of James I. was repealed in 1736.

Although the modern drama permits many conventional departures from actual life, its cardinal quality is vivid realism. The most exalted hero of history or epic tradition when put upon the stage becomes completely human, stands upon a level with the spectators, and appeals to their sympathy. Cæsar, Macbeth, Hamlet, each seems to the humblest auditor to be but an extension, an enlargement of his own personality, a second self; each appeals to him entirely by virtue of a common human nature.

The sense of reality is essential to a serious drama of the highest type. " *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* " is sportive; but " *Julius Cæsar*," " *Hamlet*," and " *Macbeth* " set forth what the spectators for whom they were written accepted as a portrayal

¹ *Spectator Essays*, No. 117.

of real life. Shakespeare in appealing to his audiences made use of the general conceptions and beliefs that filled their minds, just as he made use of the Elizabethan form of the language ; nevertheless, he was careful to employ the agency of the supernatural, as Professor Moulton expresses it, only "to intensify and to illuminate human action, not to determine it." The supernatural was not allowed to be really causative. Because of this wise method, his plays, which fascinated the men of his own day, appeal with equal power to us, who hold opinions decidedly different from theirs concerning supernatural manifestations.

It must be admitted that there is a lack of harmony, even a decided clash, in uniting in the same persons the imperturbable goddesses of destiny and malignant witches ; but if the weird women were to have rôles of any length, it was necessary that they be made completely real, that they be humanized in some form. If they remain upon the stage, they must do something, something which human beings do, or which, when this play was written, human beings were supposed under some circumstances to do. The Greeks had a similar difficulty, though their drama was far less realistic than is ours. Says Freytag : —

"Whenever the gods had to play a real part upon the stage, and not simply to utter a command *ex machina*, then they were of necessity either entirely transformed into men, with all the pain and anger of men, as was Prometheus, or they sank below the nobility of

human nature, without the poet being able to hinder it, down to blank generalizations of love and hate, like the Athene in the prologue of 'Ajax.'"¹

We see that, when "Macbeth" appeared, the entire English people, king and subjects, believed in the reality of witchcraft. The usual manner in which the emissaries of Satan actually did lure men to evil was thought to be known, in a general way. If the weird sisters were to do that work, they would naturally do it in that way; they would use the apparatus of witchcraft. They must submit to dramatic necessity and be humanized; but they were humanized as witches, — creatures dwelling on the very confines of humanity and holding commerce with the devil, — "secret, black, and midnight hags," doing deeds "without a name." Shakespeare yields to dramatic necessity, but gives to the cauldron scene all possible poetic impressiveness; he takes the supposed facts of witchcraft and raises them to the *n*th power.

It is not probable that the "commonplace and vulgar" quality which Hudson finds in the opening portion of Scene iii. Act I. was painfully evident even to the more sensitive persons in Shakespeare's audiences. The passage may well be Shakespeare's, although it is not his best work; and it may be in some degree a concession to the delight that the audience was sure to take in the witches. So long as witchcraft was thoroughly believed in, effective use could be made of it upon the stage. "Killing

¹ Translated from *Die Technik des Dramas*, p. 52.

swine" and "sailing in a sieve" were believed to be common occupations among witches; probably the first of these opinions sprang from the account of the destruction of the herd of swine by the devils, as told in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and was felt to have some degree of Scripture authority. Such forms of activity naturally seem commonplace and vulgar to us; but they would not if we believed in witches; and while we are reading "Macbeth," we must believe in them.

In view of these considerations, I do not care to question the genuineness of any of the supernatural portions of the play except the rôle of Hecate and a few lines closely connected therewith.¹ Her presence in the drama is a distinct blemish.

¹ Let us say III. v.; IV. i. 39-43, 125-132. Mr. E. K. Chambers, in the *Arden Macbeth*, rejects these passages, and no more.

LANIER'S "SCIENCE OF ENGLISH
VERSE"

LANIER'S "SCIENCE OF ENGLISH VERSE" ¹

LET any man read some representative poem from the writings of Swinburne, one which fairly carries him away by the richness of its rhythm and the melody of its sounds. He will say: "This poet sometimes lacks clearness of expression; sometimes, nobility of thought; but he has a marvelous command of the purely formal elements of English verse." Let that man now turn to the works upon English versification that preceded Sidney Lanier's "Science of English Verse" and seek to find a careful analysis and exposition of those qualities of Swinburne's poetry which have charmed his own ear. He will search in vain. So far from finding those qualities explained, he will not find them even recognized. If he chances upon the writings of Lanier's brother-Baltimoreans, Edgar A. Poe and Professor Sylvester, he will get some real light. Elsewhere he will find — not "light, but darkness visible."

The ignorance concerning the nature of English verse which Lanier found to prevail was of no ordinary kind. It was a scientific ignorance, in the

¹ Reprinted from *A Memorial of Sidney Lanier*, Baltimore, 1888.

sense that it had been reduced to a science. It had classified and labeled all the multitude of phenomena which it did not understand. It talked learnedly of trochees, and anapests, and amphibrachs, and hypercatalecticism. It had developed rules for the making of verse, and the smallest one of these had exceptions enough to fill a volume. It had all the form of sound knowledge, "but denying the power thereof."

The students of this strange pseudo-science stood ready to frown down any intruder who should bring in a ray of common sense to light up their darkness, by telling him, "My dear Sir, you ignore all the accepted principles of English prosody." With all his gift for hyperbole, Poe hardly overstates the case when he says, concerning the theory of versification, — "There is, perhaps, no topic in polite literature which has been more pertinaciously discussed ; and there is certainly not one about which so much inaccuracy, confusion, misconception, misrepresentation, mystification, and downright ignorance on all sides, can be fairly said to exist."

Inborn delicacy of hearing and long training fitted Lanier for the task of investigating English verse. Quietly disregarding the learned rubbish that had accumulated, he studied our verse as a set of present phenomena of the world of sound. He listened, and listened to the very thing itself, the sound-groups concerning which he wished to learn. He gathered his facts carefully, he verified and arranged them, until the great laws which

underlie the phenomena stood out clear and unmistakable. These laws he then set forth in language which is as severely accurate as if he had never penned a line of poetry, as if all flights of imagination were utterly distasteful to him.

This statement of Lanier's method of study sets aside in a measure the objections that some of his historical illustrations are incorrectly interpreted, and that he has paid no attention to the work of some careful students of the history of English verse. Lanier sought, primarily, to explain English verse as a present fact. There is a school of philologists which says, "Observe carefully the facts of the formation and growth of language as it exists to-day. Then you will have the means for understanding substantially all that we shall ever know of its formation and development in all ages." If Lanier has accurately analyzed and interpreted English verse as it exists to-day, then he has given us the laws that will explain to us at least the greater part of all that we shall ever know concerning the nature of that verse in all the periods of its existence.

The first and longest division of the "Science of English Verse" contains a complete treatment of the subject of verse-rhythm. Lanier considers rhythm in verse to be the marking off to the ear by the accent of equal intervals of time; hence verse-rhythm is essentially the same thing as rhythm in music, and all other rhythm.

In this broad position it seems to me that Lanier

is unquestionably right. His demonstration may need to be modified in some particulars ; it will never be overthrown. We shall still hear that "accent and not quantity is the governing principle of English verse" ; but we shall hear less of this as time goes on. Astronomy and astrology were long cultivated side by side. So long as man's heart-beats are separated by equal intervals, and his legs are of equal length, he will never distribute accents without reference to time. If any one really wishes to hear a faint suggestion of such sound-anarchy, let him touch off a bunch of Chinese firecrackers.

The rhythm of our verse, however, does not always attain to the exactness of the rhythm of music. Lanier's musical bent is seen in the fact that he treats the rhythmical accent of verse almost as if it were a thing independent of every-day accent. In rendering music we give accent to musical sounds ; in reading poetry we find it in spoken sounds ; the accent of verse is a new function, simply, of the accent of common speech. Lanier's own poetical genius was distinctly lyrical. He was in a special sense a singer. His most representative verse-form was the grand lyric, especially the Ode, with its vast resonance and complex harmony. Lyric poetry is that form of verse which is most nearly allied to music in the exactness and the prominence of its rhythm. Lanier had a tendency to look upon English verse as lyric verse. In free blank-verse, it seems to be true that not so much of the

expression is committed to the rhythm; the words have a substantive, an independent meaning, which the separate tones of a piece of music do not have, and which the words of a lyric poem do not have in the same degree relative to the demands of the rhythm. To this independent meaning of the words, the rhythm of free blank-verse often seems to defer. Hence we have frequent omissions of the rhythmical accent, even in measures that are filled with sound, frequent displacements of the accent, and a bewildering variety of equivalent forms of the measure; and even the fundamental rhythm itself, which is clearly heard through all interruptions, is not marked off to the ear with the same exactness as in lyric verse. Occasional lines, too, may for the sake of expressiveness show exceptional rhythmic peculiarities. Still, so far as this takes place, it is really an escape from rhythm; and it cannot be carried far in good verse. Lanier has stated the norm, the great basal principle governing verse-rhythm.¹

In the second and third divisions of the book, "The Tunes of English Verse" and "The Colors of English Verse," the treatment is clear, sound, and strikingly suggestive. All must regret that Lanier did not live to investigate these topics more fully.

The late Professor E. R. Sill, a life-long stu-

¹ The student is referred to an admirable discussion of "The Time-Element in English Verse," pp. 391-409 in Professor R. M. Alden's *English Verse*, New York, 1903.

dent and teacher of English poetry, a judicious critic, and a poet of fine quality, said of this book, — “It is the only work that has ever made any approach to a rational view of the subject. Nor are the standard ones overlooked in making this assertion.”

The book is clear and explicit everywhere. We follow its pages, instantly accepting or questioning every statement; and we forget how rare such precision and perspicuity are, and how difficult of attainment. The contrast is complete between this work and the cuneiform inscriptions which had passed for expositions of English verse.

Perhaps no feature of the book is more admirable than the thoroughness with which Lanier maps out the field. This makes it possible for others to supplement his work, to build upon his foundation. Merely as a logical exercise, it would be well if every young student could read the opening chapter, “The Investigation of Sound as Artistic Material.”

The present writer does not care to dwell upon those details in this work concerning which there may be differences of opinion. He prefers to recall the delight with which he read the book twice through on its appearance, and felt for the first time that he had solid ground under his feet in the study of English verse. He gratefully acknowledges his personal indebtedness to this book.

The scientific precision of Lanier’s treatment of his subject and the relentlessness with which he

follows every proposition out to its logical conclusions are a new illustration of the truth that a great poet must have an orderly, a scientific mind. Only such a mind is thoroughly fitted, for that higher form of rationality, poetic inspiration.

We commonly conceive of a great poet most inadequately. Milton has told us that large powers, wide knowledge, long training, and "devout prayer" should all be found united in such a one, — and that he who would sing well "ought himself also to be a true poem." The mental and the moral sanity of Sidney Lanier — his thirst for knowledge, his trained intellect, his passion for holiness — were the indispensable conditions and an essential part of his poetic greatness.

It is easy to look upon the "Science of English Verse" as something standing apart from Lanier's life-work. He did not so regard it. It was the foundation, broad and deep, on which he was to build a mighty Temple of Song, for the delight of man and the glory of God. Of that Temple he fashioned one portal, fair, chaste, and strong. And then — just as his fingers, now grown fully deft, eagerly grasped the mallet and chisel, just as the firm stone seemed fairly pliant to his touch, just as the grateful appreciation of his fellow-men, long delayed, swelled to a chorus, then —

"God's finger touched him, and he slept."

SHAKESPEARE'S STAGE AND
MODERN ADAPTATIONS

SHAKESPEARE'S STAGE AND MODERN ADAPTATIONS¹

As early as the reign of Henry VII. the wealthy English lords began to attach to their retinues permanent companies of actors. Gradually a class of professional actors grew up. When not performing before their lords or at court, these companies often presented plays in the inclosed four-sided yards of inns. A platform was built inside the great gateway by which the yard was entered, and spectators beheld the performance from the yard and the inner balconies. In many ways the first theatres copied these inn-yards.

The first London theatres had to be built outside the city limits because of the opposition of the Puritan city government. The first playhouse erected was The Theatre, built in 1576, in Shoreditch, just outside of the city at the northeastern edge. Very soon after, and in the same locality, was built The Curtain, which received its name from

¹ Reprinted with additions from the author's edition of *Julius Cæsar*, Globe School Book Co., 1901.

Use has been made of the following recent articles: Lawrence, "Some Characteristics of the Elizabethan-Stuart Stage," *Englische Studien*, xxxii. 36-51; E. E. Hale, Jr., "The Influence of Theatrical Conditions on Shakespeare," *Modern Philology*, i. 171-92.

It has been necessary to omit or pass lightly over many matters of detail and many difficult and unsettled questions.

the plot of ground on which it stood ; none of the early houses had a drop-curtain. The next theatres were built south of the river Thames. The Rose, on the Bankside, was completed at least as early as 1592, and The Swan, near by, a very few years later. The Blackfriars Theatre, built in 1596, was located within the city limits, at the southwest. The property had formerly belonged to the "black friars," and seems to have been free in a measure from the control of the city authorities. In 1599 The Theatre was torn down, and the timbers were used in erecting The Globe, on the Bankside. The Fortune was erected in 1600, on the northern edge of the western portion of the city. Thus there were certainly as many as six theatres in existence at the close of 1600.

Before 1888 our knowledge of the interior arrangement of an English theatre during the lifetime of Shakespeare was very vague. In that year a German scholar named Gaedertz published a facsimile of a pen-and-ink drawing of the interior of the famous Swan Theatre. This drawing, which is reproduced here (page 120), was made by a Dutchman named John de Witt, who was visiting in London, and is thought to belong to about the year 1596.

It will be seen that the theatre is either oval or circular in shape ; that the body of the house and the front of the stage are open to the sky ; and that the back of the stage and the three galleries, which rise one above the other on the outside of the theatre, are roofed over. These galleries are divided

into private boxes. The spectators in the pit, or yard, in front of the stage stood while witnessing the performance.

A roof covers the rear portion of the stage. Perched up on top of this roof is a small tower room, which is the loftiest portion of the entire theatre. In the drawing of De Witt, a flag having on it the figure of a "swan" is flying from this tower, and a trumpeter is sounding a blast in order to announce that a play is about to begin.

The orchestra was placed close by the stage in the lowest gallery. Music is perhaps the only stage accessory that was as prominent in Shakespeare's day as it is now. It often took part in the action, as in "*Julius Cæsar*," I. ii., and "*King Lear*," IV. vii.

The stage projects out into the house in a way that seems strange to us. The nearness of the actors to the audience, and the lack of means for elaborate decorative and spectacular effects, combined to place great emphasis upon declamation and acting. The long rhetorical speeches in Shakespeare's plays show that especial interest was taken in vocal expression. Hamlet's advice to the players, III. ii. 1-50, is concerned primarily with elocution, to a less degree with acting. The great sins of an actor are "strutting and bellowing."

There was a trap in the floor of Shakespeare's stage, probably in the front section. It was used for Ophelia's grave in "*Hamlet*." The magic cauldron sinks into it and disappears in "*Macbeth*," IV. i. 106.



INTERIOR OF THE SWAN THEATRE, LONDON, ABOUT 1596

There was no curtain before the front stage. Every character in a front scene must enter and go off before our eyes. If any had been slain, they must be carried off. When Falstaff bears away on his back the dead Hotspur, in order to boast of having killed him, in "I. Henry IV.," Shakespeare skillfully brings into the substance of his play the



PICTURE OF AN ENGLISH STAGE DURING
A THEATRICAL REPRESENTATION

From the title-page of William Alabaster's
Latin tragedy *Roxana*, London, 1632

necessary clearing of the stage. At the close of many of the tragedies the characters themselves give directions for carrying off the dead. It was not wise to have the dead men come to life amid the jeers — and missiles — of the spectators.

But the absence of a front curtain went far deeper than these somewhat external matters would indicate. It affected the entire manner of writing plays. Says Mr. Arthur Dillon : —

"Elizabethan dramatists had to round off a scene to a conclusion, for there was no kindly curtain to cover retreat from a deadlock. The art of modern playwriting is to arrest the action suddenly upon a thrilling situation, and to leave the characters between the horns of a dilemma. . . . [Shakespeare's] constructive plan is particularly unsuited to the act-drop. Upon one of Shakespeare's plays the curtain falls like the knife of a guillotine. The effect is similar to ending a piece of music abruptly at its highest note, simply for the sake of startling effect." ¹

The front stage usually had little or no scenery. It could represent any open place. As soon as one scene was completed by the going off of the characters a new set of persons could at once enter, and the audience would imagine any desired change of scene, provided only that the action was still in the open air. Thus the many short scenes in the first part of "*Coriolanus*," in which bands of Roman and Volscian warriors come before us alternately, were presented with a simplicity, rapidity, and effectiveness that our stage knows nothing of. Our editors of Shakespeare are sometimes too anxious to give an exact location to each of these front scenes. The audience understood them to be enacted "in an open place," or simply "out of doors."

The special use of the back stage was to represent a room in a palace or princely house. Upon this portion of the stage, use was made of a few appropriate articles of furniture and other "prop-

¹ Quoted by Lawrence from *The Westminster Review*, April, 1895.

erties." The back wall was sometimes hung with arras, behind which Falstaff ensconces himself on one occasion and Polonius on another. In "*Romeo and Juliet*" the back stage represents the great reception hall of Capulet. In Act V. it is transformed into the tomb of the Capulets. Domestic scenes were acted upon this back stage. Here appeared Lady Percy, Calpurnia, both Portias, and all the other noble women of Shakespeare, closing with Imogen, Hermione, and Queen Katharine. This English type of stage was carried to Germany, and the German stage directions of that time speak of the "inner stage."

In the last act of "*The Tempest*," where Prospero "discovers Ferdinand and Miranda playing at chess," we are to understand that he draws back the curtains, which up to that moment had shut off the back stage, in order that the king of Naples and his nobles may behold the lovers.

It must be admitted that we see nothing in this sketch of the Swan Theatre of any curtain that could be drawn to separate the front part of the stage from the back. But it may be that The Swan was not fully supplied with the usual devices, since it had a removable stage, two of the supports of which we see in the picture. This fact enabled the structure to be changed into an amphitheatre for various athletic contests; and this theatre appears to have been more frequently employed for such uses than as a playhouse. That a portion of the stage could be curtained off in a well-equipped Elizabethan theatre is certain.

Mr. Lawrence holds that "the curtains" mentioned in a number of Elizabethan plays were traverses, a pair of curtains that were drawn together from the side, and that they came only a little in front of the back wall of the stage. A number of passages do seem to imply the curtaining off of only a small portion of the stage. The characters are already in a room in Portia's house, that is presumably upon the back stage, when Portia in "The Merchant of Venice," II. vii. 1, directs that the curtains be drawn aside to disclose the caskets. Nerissa gives the same direction in II. ix. 1. Only a small space was needed for the caskets. It is not necessary, however, to give up the idea that the entire back stage could also be curtained off. It would not be a very troublesome convention for the audience to accept the back stage under these circumstances as entirely invisible, even if it were left open at the sides. What Halliwell-Phillipps offers as a statement of fact may be accepted as probably correct: "Intersecting the stage were two curtains of arras, one running along near the back, and the other about the centre, either being drawn as occasion required."¹

The question naturally arises, — How were the spectators in the balcony behind the stage to see what was done upon the forward portion when the two great divisions of the stage were separated by curtains? Perhaps these boxes, "the Lords' room,"

¹ *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, 10th edition, London, 1898, vol. i. p. 184.

were not used by spectators in the case of plays where this difficulty was important.

In addition to the front and back portions of the stage, the doors which lead from the back stage into the "tiring house," or dressing-room, sometimes come into the action. For example, they represent the gates of Corioli. Through one of these Caius Marcius enters the city alone, and then fights his way out again covered with blood, thus inspiring his followers to capture the city, and winning for himself the proud name Coriolanus. These same doors are the gates of many different castles and cities in the plays which are named from the various English kings. One of these represents the outer door of the house of Antipholus of Ephesus, in "*The Comedy of Errors*," III. i., when that gentleman and his servant Dromio are barred out from his own home by Dromio of Syracuse.

Only one who has given special attention to the matter can realize how important in the presentation of Shakespeare's plays was the balcony over the "tiring house." This third, or upper stage, with the rear wall of the back stage, represented the walls of many cities and castles; for example, the castle wall from which young Arthur jumps to his death in "*King John*." This little gallery becomes the window from which Brabantio speaks at the opening of "*Othello*," and also the window of Juliet's chamber. In the sketch of the Swan Theatre, this balcony seems to be occupied by spectators.

The only other known picture of an English stage before the Restoration, also reproduced here (page 121), is a very small one upon the title-page of a Latin tragedy, "Roxana" by name, published in 1632.¹ In this diminutive cut the stage is surrounded at the outer edge by a low railing. The rear balcony is occupied by spectators, as in the view of the Swan Theatre. But while in The Swan this balcony lay wholly behind the rear wall of the back stage, unless the drawing is at fault, in the picture of 1632 it seems to project forward, forming beneath it a recess or alcove. This recess is almost entirely hidden from us by side curtains drawn across the stage; these seem to hang from the front edge of the balcony.

It is a little strange that no spectators are sitting upon the stage at the sides in either of the two early pictures. This common practice is brought into that most interesting and many-sided play "The Knight of the Burning Pestle," by Beaumont and Fletcher. Hardly has the Speaker of the Prologue begun his lines, when a Citizen leaps upon the stage from the audience and falls to berating the players because they are ever girding at the citizens in their plays. Soon the Wife of the Citizen climbs up after him, and then Ralph their apprentice. The couple demand that Ralph be given a part in the performance, and the Speaker of the Prologue consents. The naïve comments of the

¹ The cut on page 121 has been copied from that in the *Jahrbuch* of the German Shakespeare Society, vol. xxxiv. (1898), p. 324.

pair, as they sit upon their stools and watch the play, are deliciously absurd.

It will be interesting to quote some passages from the sixth chapter of "The Gull's Horn-Book," by Dekker, which discusses "How a Gallant should behave himself in a Play-house."

"Do but cast up a reckoning, what large comings-in are pursed up by sitting on the stage. First a conspicuous eminence is gotten; by which means the best and most essential parts of a gallant — good clothes, a proportionable leg, white hand, the Persian lock, and a tolerable beard — are perfectly revealed.

"By sitting on the stage you have a signed patent to engross the whole commodity of censure, may lawfully presume to be a girder and stand at the helm to steer the passage of scenes; yet no man shall once offer to hinder you from obtaining the title of an insolent, overweening coxcomb.

· · · · ·
 "If you know not the author, you may rail against him, and peradventure so behave yourself that you may enforce the author to know you.

· · · · ·
 "Present not yourself on the stage, especially at a new play, until the quaking Prologue hath, by rubbing, got color into his cheeks, and is ready to give the trumpets their cue that he's upon point to enter; for then it is time, as though you were one of the properties, or that you dropped out of the hangings, to creep from behind the arras, with your tripes or three-footed stool in one hand."¹

¹ From vol. ii. of Dekker's *Non-Dramatic Works*, edited by Grosart, Huth Library. The spelling has been modernized.

We have seen the effect on the art of the playwright which was caused by the absence of a front curtain. The division of the stage into front and back portions also had certain results. Professor Alois Brandl believes that, inasmuch as the back stage was furnished and arranged to represent in a rough way each specific indoor scene, two back scenes representing decidedly different interiors could not come in succession, since this would give no opportunity to change the furnishings, and the Elizabethan audiences had not learned to wait. In "Antony and Cleopatra" a scene in a room of one palace is free to follow or precede another palace scene, whether in Rome or Alexandria. But Brandl thinks that Shakespeare was compelled to insert at least one front scene whenever two back scenes with different settings would otherwise come together. Sometimes these inserted scenes are dramatically superfluous and ineffective. Act III. Scene vi. of "Richard III."; III. v. of "The Merchant of Venice"; "Cymbeline," II. i.; "Richard II.," III. iv.; and "Antony and Cleopatra," III. i.,¹ — seem to be scenes of this kind, forced upon Shakespeare by a stage necessity. Since III. ii. of "Julius Cæsar" uses the entire stage, as we shall see, and IV. i., a room in a house at Rome, requires the back stage, it has been maintained that III. iii., the encounter between the poet Cinna and the mob, was necessary in order to give time for the preparing of

¹ The writer is not aware that the last two of these scenes have been previously pointed out.

the back stage for IV. i. Many have felt, also, that III. iii. is in itself of little or no value to the drama. This scene is almost universally omitted upon the stage at the present day.

It will be interesting to note in detail the probable method of staging an individual play ; and for this purpose we will select "*Julius Cæsar*." The stage directions in the Folio are very scanty. Let us go through the play and consider how each scene was presented on the Elizabethan stage. The whole of Act I. would be given upon the front stage, in the open air ; also the first scene of Act II., in Brutus's orchard. From his orchard Brutus hears the knocking upon the door of the dressing-room back of the stage, which represents the outer door of his house. Scene ii. of Act II., in Cæsar's house, is the first indoor scene, the first one played upon the back stage. Scenes iii. and iv. are street scenes on the front stage. The opening of Act III. is a problem. The Folio simply states that the characters "enter" at the beginning, and tells us after line 76 that "*They stab Cæsar*." The stage directions here in all editions are modern ; those that are most satisfactory follow carefully the account given by Plutarch. Apparently the procession is upon the front stage, representing the street before the Capitol, for the first twelve lines ; it then passes to the back stage, and this represents the entry into the Capitol. After line 26 we suppose that Cæsar takes his seat, and that the senators, who have been standing in compliment to him, do the same.

The remainder of the scene takes place upon the back stage, within the Capitol. Act III. Scene ii., the great scene of the play, is a mass scene, and the entire stage, front and back, is used to represent the Roman Forum. Indeed, the balcony is also employed; for when Brutus "goes into the pulpit," he mounts into this rear balcony; and Antony succeeds him there, until asked by the mob to come down. Next we have the much-discussed front scene between Cinna the poet and the mob, III. iii. We infer that IV. i. takes place in "a house in Rome," and was represented upon the back stage. In IV. ii. the front stage represents the space before Brutus's tent; at the end of this scene Brutus and Cassius pass to the back stage, the interior of the tent, for Scene iii. Concerning the Ghost the Folio is very specific: "*Enter the Ghost of Cæsar.*" Act V. was played entirely upon the front stage, in the open air.

Professor Brandl believes that the three separate divisions of the Elizabethan stage were sometimes all in use together, that three different groups of persons could in some measure claim the attention of the audience at the same time. He thinks that Act IV. Scenes iv. and v. of "Romeo and Juliet" were thus presented:¹—

"In the reception hall — that is, upon the back stage — Lady Capulet and the nurse are busily engaged in preparing the meal for the wedding guests; servants

¹ From the Introduction to vol. i. of a new edition of the Schlegel-Tieck translation of Shakespeare, Leipzig, 1897.

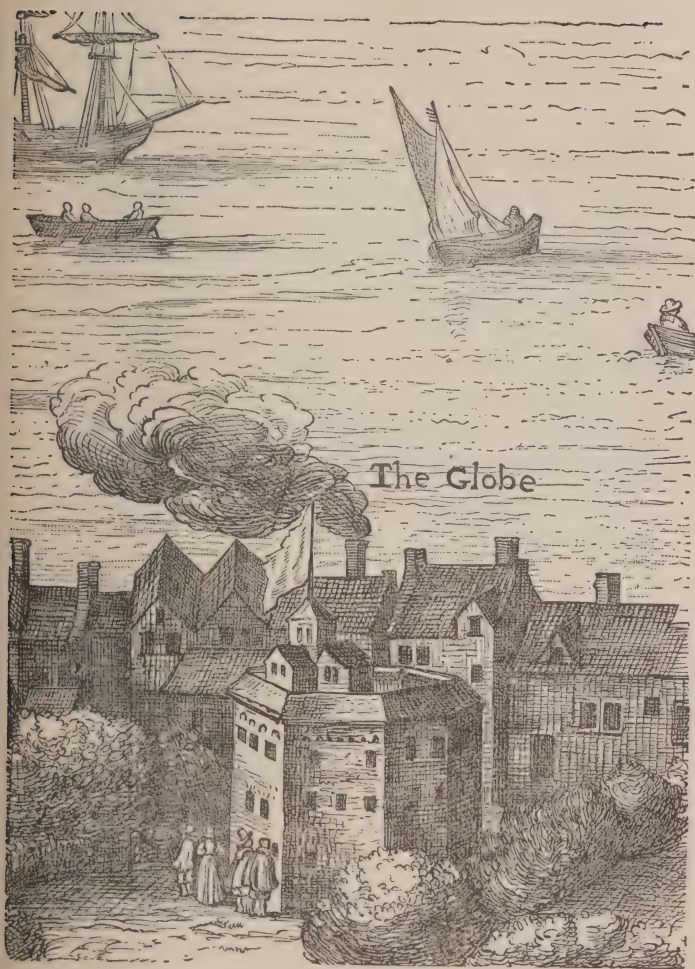
with food, firewood, and baskets are hurrying to and from the kitchen; the nurse is sent up into Juliet's chamber in order to waken the prospective bride. Above in the balcony we see her draw back the window curtain, but she cannot arouse the sleeper — below the clatter of preparation continues — the nurse becomes anxious and calls for help. Lady Capulet climbs the stair and beholds the sad spectacle; Capulet appears; both lament over the body of their daughter. In the mean time, musicians have drawn near upon the front stage; Paris will carry away his bride with cheery piping; thus the festive tumult ever increases on the floor of the stage, as does the noise of lamentation above in the chamber; and both of them are at once seen and heard by the spectator, until at last the words of Capulet spoken to Paris from the window put an end to this shocking contrast. In the modern theatre, with all its elaborate apparatus and decorations, half of the effect of such scenes is lost."

After paying so much attention to the interior of the theatres of Shakespeare's day, the reader will be interested to see how one of them looked upon the outside. An exterior view of the second Globe Theatre is here reproduced (page 133). This edifice was opened in 1614, the original Globe having been destroyed by fire in June of the previous year.

As soon as one examines this picture, or any other outside view of a theatre of that period, he is struck by the unexpectedly small diameter of the building. Professor Edward Everett Hale, Jr., in the article already referred to, points out frankly the difficulty of believing that these pictures are accurate in their proportions. He says: "The

usual pictures give a form to the theatres that would not be of much use for anything more than a cockpit. The familiar form has a height about equal to its diameter, or even greater. The height cannot have been much more than thirty feet : if that were the diameter, when you allow a few feet on each side for the boxes, a few more on each side for the pit, you will have very little left for the stage. It seems as if this must be incorrect, contemporary pictures and all. The Fortune Theatre was eighty feet in diameter by thirty-two high, and had a pit of fifty-five feet across, in which stood the stage. Probably the Globe had as much room, or a diameter, say, two and a half times its height." Professor Hale adds pungently that these theatres seem, according to the contemporary pictures, "about as available for dramatic purposes as a new factory chimney would be." We may safely believe, however, that the picture of the second Globe Theatre that is here presented gives in other respects a correct general impression.

Let us now look at the modern method of presenting Shakespeare. A modern manager puts a Shakespearean play on the stage with a vast display of elaborate scenery and gorgeous costumes. Long waits between the scenes and acts make it necessary to mutilate the play in various ways. Scenes are combined that Shakespeare kept apart, the order of the parts of the play is freely departed from, and many passages and whole scenes are omitted altogether. In this way many touches of



THE SECOND GLOBE THEATRE, OPENED IN 1614

From Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, 10th edition, vol. i.
p. 315; taken by him from Visscher's engraved view of London, 1616.

preparation, retrospect, transition, and characterization are simply dropped. The result may be magnificent, but in many ways it is not Shakespeare. Though the dramatist sometimes went too far in breaking up the action of a drama into separate, scattered scenes, yet in his greatest works all the parts of the play should be presented, and the correct order of the scenes is a definite part of the dramatic effect. Moreover, the expense of the elaborate setting is so oppressive that managers are loath to produce Shakespeare at all. Sir Henry Irving made the statement, a few years ago, that his losses on Shakespearean productions had amounted to £100,000.

Shakespeare's plays were constructed for Shakespeare's theatre; they are falsified when presented to an audience in an entirely different manner. This fact has come to be recognized more and more, and various attempts have been made to remedy the difficulty. A number of Elizabethan plays have been acted by the students of Harvard University during recent years upon a stage especially constructed in the Elizabethan fashion. Following this example, other institutions have given similar performances. Since 1895 the Elizabethan Stage Society of London has presented a number of Elizabethan plays as nearly as possible in the original manner. But the only important attempt to appeal to the general public by means of a reformed method of staging the plays of Shakespeare has been made in München (Munich),

Germany. In 1889 the director of the court theatre in that capital began to present these dramas upon a specially prepared stage. The omissions made were merely such as good taste demanded. Only a moderate use was made of stage furnishings and decorative effects. There were no waits between the scenes, and but slight ones between the acts. This special stage was called "die Shakespeare-Bühne," the Shakespeare stage. It consisted essentially of a stage divided into front and back portions, like the Elizabethan. The front stage remained unchanged in appearance throughout the play; the back stage could be shut off by a separate curtain. This double stage, with moderation in the use of stage furnishings, permitted a rapid succession of front scenes, and a rapid alternation of front and back scenes.¹ The acting and elocution were made prominent, not the scene-painting and rich setting. It was found that a whole play of Shakespeare makes an impression which is very different from that produced by the selected parts and tableau effects to which the modern stage has accustomed us. One writer tells us that, when "Julius Cæsar" was presented in its entirety, III. iii., the scene with the poet Cinna, showed itself to be both a scene of great power and a helpful part of the action, because it makes the audience realize vividly the terrible "mischief"

¹ R. Genée, *Die Entwicklung des scenischen Theaters und die Bühnenreform in München*, Stuttgart, 1889, gives a description of the Shakespeare stage, also a picture and a floor plan.

that is "afoot." The presentations upon the "Shakespeare stage" offered an abundance of pleasure and instruction for the students of the great dramatist, and many were enthusiastic over the reform.

But certain disadvantages came with the gains of the new stage. The modern theatre-goer loves brilliant stage effects, and some of Shakespeare's plays make a somewhat bare and inadequate impression without the use of more elaborate accessories than the Shakespeare stage can accommodate.

Thus, in the first play put upon the Shakespeare stage, "King Lear," it was not possible to give full visible expression to the telling contrast between the kingly glory of Lear and his later misery. This was a failing that leaned to virtue's side, since the emphasis was thrown with just so much more force upon the speaking and the acting, and upon the responsive imagination of the audience. In order to meet this difficulty, however, the same man who worked out the details of the Shakespeare stage, Herr Lautenschläger, invented a *revolving stage*, and this is now in use at München.¹ This device consists in the main of a great turntable, having a diameter nearly as large as that of the entire stage. While one half of this circular stage is turned toward the audience and a scene is being presented upon it, the other half, turned from the

¹ See the account of Dr. von Possart, *Jahrbuch* of the German Shakespeare Society, vol. xxxvii. (1901), pp. xviii-xxxvi. The date when the revolving stage was first used is not given.

audience, is being prepared for its next scene. It takes but a few seconds to revolve the new setting of the hidden portion of the stage into its place when it is wanted. Waits are done away with, but at the same time all desirable stage setting can be provided.

To go outside of the spoken drama for an illustration of the advantages of the revolving stage, Mozart's opera "*Così fan tutte*" is said to have been practically banished from the theatre before the employment of this new device, because of the many difficult changes of scene called for. If this opera were properly presented upon the usual stage, the waits between the various acts and scenes would amount to a full hour. By the aid of the revolving stage this time was reduced to a minute and one half. A great turntable of this kind, with the electric apparatus by which it is controlled, is costly ; but this expense is largely offset by the fact that the labor of a very few persons, assisted by simple mechanical devices, is sufficient in every ordinary case to prepare the invisible rear portion of the stage promptly and well for the coming scene.

The director of the München court theatre, Dr. von Possart, declared in 1901 that the revolving stage had proved very successful, that a larger theatre was likely to be constructed containing this device, and that this invention promised to be "the stage of the future."

So far as concerns the novelty of this invention, however, we are compelled to say with Chaucer : —

“There nis no newe gyse, that it nas old.”

The Japanese theatre has the revolving stage, and presumably has employed it for a very long period. While only a portion of this stage is ordinarily visible to the Japanese audience, the whole of it can be made use of at times when a distant view or a long perspective is desired.¹ A Japanese acquaintance of the writer has often wondered at the fact that outside of his own nation he has never met with this simple and effective device.

The assertion is freely made that if Shakespeare were now writing plays, he would so plan them as to employ all the resources of the modern theatre. Undoubtedly he would. It is also maintained that we should present his dramas in the present manner and with all the means at our disposal. This seems reasonable, at first view. But we have noted that some features of these productions were shaped or even created by the nature of the stage for which they were written. Shall such features be preserved or given up? Should we have at these points what Shakespeare wrote, or what some modern manager chooses to make out of the same materials? Probably we shall accept many compromises. The great advantage of the revolving stage is that it enables us to secure abundant and effective stage setting and decorations without loss of time, and therefore without at the same time compelling us to cut

¹ The writer is indebted to his former pupil Dr. Kichero Yuasa, and to Dr. Toyokichi Iyenaga of the University of Chicago, for the information about the Japanese theatre.

down Shakespeare's text. But some questions remain to be settled. Should we insist on presenting scenes which were probably inserted merely to furnish time for setting the back stage? even the in-artistic Scene vi. Act III. of "Richard III.," and the wholly superfluous though interesting Scene i. Act III. of "Antony and Cleopatra"? In these two cases at least, it seems clear that the scenes should be omitted. Again, shall we be satisfied to bring a scene to a close in the midst of a powerful situation, in the modern manner, when this is entirely contrary to Shakespeare's intention? Each case deserves to be considered by itself; but my own preference would be as a rule, when there is a clash between the very structure of a scene or play and modern methods of presentation, to adhere to the art-form of Shakespeare.

THE SYMBOLIC VALUE OF ENGLISH
SOUNDS

THE SYMBOLIC VALUE OF ENGLISH SOUNDS ¹

THE first necessity, the first law, of all language is clearness. Aristotle and common sense tell us this. Clearness is a fundamental requirement in the expression of thought. "If the foundations be destroyed, what can the righteous do?"

A second necessity and law of language is some measure of conciseness, economy of effort. "The thread of the discourse" should not be drawn out "finer than the staple of the argument." Ease of utterance calls for some care in the arrangement of accents and pauses. Such arrangement gives us prose rhythm. But we seek pleasure from language, and not simply clearness and conciseness. According to "the law of the nearest," language may have been the earliest as it is the finest of the fine arts. Poetry chooses in each tongue some additional principle of form which gives to language special beauty and power. In Hebrew there is parallelism; in an English poem we have some time-and-accent unit, giving verse rhythm.

¹ The present article is in the main a reprint of one in *The Atlantic Monthly* for April, 1895, "The Expressive Power of English Sounds." Some material has been incorporated from an earlier paper, "The Laws of Tone-Color in the English Language," *The Andover Review*, March, 1887.

We must notice one more characteristic of artistic language before we come to our subject proper. The scientist asks only for the accepted, literal meaning of each word. The artist asks further : What is its history? What company has it kept? If it once bore a bad character, but has reformed, how long since it was received into good society? Does it sometimes forget its new surroundings, and, so to speak, wear its hat in the parlor? If the word has thoroughly reformed, or always borne a good character, what are its present tendencies? In its many different uses, are there any degrading or trivial offices which it performs? By all this interrogation, we mean that the artist considers the history, associations, and affinities of a word as truly as its simple, dictionary meaning. The necessity that the writer's words shall suggest what he wishes to have suggested, as well as express what he wishes to have expressed, we may call the law of suggestiveness.

But the artist may question this personified word as to its intrinsic as well as its accepted character; he may scan the lines of its face, and seek to learn its very nature and fibre. He may say, "My faithful servant, I cannot use you with the greatest effect known to language unless both your accepted and your real character mark you out as *the* word for my thought." That is to say, those words can be used most effectively whose accepted meanings coincide with and are reinforced by the natural expressive power of the sounds which compose them.

The question whether the sounds of the English language have each a peculiar expressional value, a natural significance, is a topic on which a great deal has been written, — much of it nonsense, to speak in the bold manner of Carlyle. It is perhaps the failure to discriminate between very different kinds of expressiveness in the use of sounds that has led many to believe that the whole subject is entirely vague and personal, incapable of anything approximating accurate treatment. But let us see if there are not some clear lines of distinction of which we can be certain.

Who can be deaf to the force of these sounds?

"I *saw* their *starv'd* lips in the gloom
With *horrid warning gaped wide*."

Keats, *La Belle Dame sans Merci*.

Is not one element of expression in these lines the muscular imitation in the widely parted lips of the sympathetic reader as he utters the words in italics, especially *gaped*, if the first vowel is pronounced with the sound of *a* in *father*? That we have striking instances of muscular imitation in the following cases will be plain to the attentive reader:

"That bubble, they were bent on blowing big,
He had blown already till he burst his cheeks."
Browning, *The Ring and the Book*, II. 450-1.

"Where with puff'd cheek the belted hunter blew
His wreathed bugle-horn."
Tennyson, *The Palace of Art*.

"Mute in the midst, the whole man one amaze."
The Ring and the Book, II. 118.

"Now, the prim, pursed-up mouth's protruded lips."
Ibid. XI. 1132.

To ask the gentle reader to find distinct muscular imitation in his reading of the following passages is rather daring, but he must admit that his jaws fly open in a very expressive fashion : —

“ Hell at last
Yawning receiv’d them whole, and on them clos’d.”
Paradise Lost, VI. 874-5.

“ Spaces of fire, and all the yawn of hell.”
Keats, Hyperion, I. 120.

In metaphorical uses of the word *swallow*, the conception is usually that of engulfing something rather than of deglutition. The wide separation of the lips and their quick return give to this word great natural expressiveness.

“ Though all our glory extinct, and happy state
Here swallow’d up in endless misery.”
Paradise Lost, I. 141-2.

“ Whether he first sees light
Where the river in gleaming rings
Sluggishly winds through the plain ;
Whether in sound of the *swallowing* sea —
As is the world on the banks,
So is the mind of the man.”

Matthew Arnold, The Future.

Every reader will feel that the imaginary struggle of Clarence is imitated as well as narrated in the following words : —

“ The envious flood
Kept in my soul, and would not let it forth
To seek the empty, vast and wandering air ;
But smother’d it within my panting bulk,
Which almost burst to belch it in the sea.”

Richard III., I. iv. 37-41.

The imitative effect of the following lines, as

they go tip-tonguing through the mouth, must be plain to all: —

“Come, and trip it as you go
On the light fantastic toe.”

Milton, *L’ Allegro*.

It is plain, then, that the sounds of language are sometimes expressive through what we may call muscular imitation, — an approximate imitation by the muscles employed in articulation of some shape or some motion. A more exact name, but also a more clumsy one, would be articulatory imitation. Much more common than this is what we may call muscular analogy, or muscular symbolism. Pope says, in a passage that has been quoted almost to death, —

“When Ajax strives some rock’s vast weight to throw,
The line too labours, and the words move slow.”

An Essay on Criticism, 370-1.

The action of the organs of articulation as they pronounce the troublesome consonant combinations in the first of these lines is not an imitation of the muscular effort of Ajax as he tugs at the mighty stone, but the struggle in the mouth is analogous to the striving of the hero, and is highly expressive.

When it is said of Isolt, meeting Tristram, that she “Belted his body with her white embrace” (“The Last Tournament”), the energetic consonants express the energy of the action, though the irregular accent upon the first syllable of the line is a still more effective feature. The phrase “the wrestling thews that throw the world” (“The

Princess," VII.) has greater power of expression than the dictionary can explain.

The line to be cited next is, in strictness, a case of expressive versification, not of the expressiveness of the sounds and sound-groups in themselves considered. Pompilia, as she escapes, glides

"Ghost-like from great dark room to great dark room."

The Ring and the Book, III. 1073.

The even fall of the syllables, caused by the uniform action of the muscles of breathing and of the voice, symbolizes the even fall of the gliding feet; but this analogy comes out in the movement of the line, not in the expressiveness of the sounds in themselves considered. In many passages the versification and the sounds are both expressive. In the following line expression is given by the unexpected accent on *plumb*, and also by the nature of the sounds in the word: —

"Flutt'ring his pennons vain plumb down he drops."

Paradise Lost, II. 933.

In the next passage, the irregular accent on *dropt* and the abrupt close of the word impress upon us the violence of the shock which puts an end to Vulcan's fall, and lames him forever: —

"From morn

To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,

A summer's day; and with the setting sun

Dropt from the zenith like a falling star,

On Lemnos th' Ægean isle."

Paradise Lost, I. 742-6.

The line that follows furnishes a striking instance of muscular analogy: —

"Here's a knife, clip quick — it's a sign of grace."

Browning, *Holy-Cross Day*.

We have now noticed two kinds of expression through speech-sounds, and have suggested for them the names "muscular imitation" and "muscular analogy." Let us take up next the common phenomenon of sound-imitation, or, to give its learned name, *onomatopœia*.

Imitative effects in language are, of course, only approximate; they can never be perfect. The names *whippoorwill* and *cuckoo* (European) are highly successful imitations of the notes of those birds. All persons feel the force of the line, —

"And murmuring of innumerable bees."

The Princess, VII.

It is stated that the makers of the great dictionary of the English Philological Society found the number of distinctly imitative words that begin with the letter *b* to be unexpectedly large. The strongly explosive quality given to that letter by the energetic springing apart of the lips seems to fit it for many onomatopoetic effects. In *bow-wow* we have both muscular imitation and sound-imitation.

Concerning the sage elders of the Trojans, we are told in Bryant's translation of the *Iliad*: —

"Beside the gates they sat, unapt, through age,
For tasks of war, but men of fluent speech,
Like the cicadas that within the wood
Sit on the trees and utter delicate sounds."

III. 188-91.

The specific word in this last line is *delicate*; the accented vowel of the word is ě, a small, light vowel with a high natural pitch; the similar vowels of *sit* and *trees* reinforce this effect. The words *sounds* and *utter* have vowels of low natural pitch, but these are generic expressions, in the use of which the poet seems to have no choice. Surely the sensitive reader will feel that, while all the words of the last line are intended by the poet translator to be effective as *words*, in accordance with their accepted meanings, the light, high-pitched vowels of *sit*, *trees*, and *delicate* are intended also to imitate the shrill note of the cicada. For a passage in which low-pitched vowels are used imitatively, call to mind these lines from "Macbeth":—

" Ere to black Hecate's summons
The shard-borne beetle with his drowsy hums
Hath rung night's yawning peal, there shall be done
A deed of dreadful note."

III. ii. 41-4.

Here the imitative force is especially concentrated in *drowsy hums*.

The booming of the giant breakers changes to the hissing and spattering of the spray as they are shattered upon the shore, in this line:—

" Roar'd as when the roaring breakers boom and blanch on the
precipices."

Tennyson, Boödicea.

The most subtle form of expression through the sounds of language remains to be considered. It is what has sometimes been termed tone-color; it will

often be called here sound-analogy, or sound-symbolism. We have felt its force in some of the extracts that have been considered. In the line concerning the cicadas, which

“Sit on the trees and utter delicate sounds,”

there is more than sound-imitation. The light, high-pitched vowels here used are small vowels; the air is compressed through a very small passage in shaping these sounds. The smallness of the vowels symbolizes the smallness of the cicadas. The writer once heard Mr. Aldrich speak of the effectiveness of using *delicate* as metrically equivalent to two syllables. In this case, there is sound-symbolism both in the dainty, high-pitched vowels of the word, and in using its three short syllables as equivalent to two ordinary ones. In the passage already cited from “Macbeth,” at the same time that the dark, low-pitched vowels imitate the dull humming of “the shard-borne beetle,” they also symbolize the mystery of the night and the awfulness of the coming crime.

The tone-color, or quality, of any vowel sound is that peculiarity which distinguishes it from another of the same pitch and intensity. The cause of the quality of a sound, its tone-color, is found in the number and prominence of the overtones, or harmonics, which are combined with the fundamental, or pitch-determining tone. The differences between the various vowel sounds, when produced by the same voice and at the same pitch, are dif-

ferences in tone-color. Different musical instruments, such as the violin, the piano, the cornet, the clarinet, have each a peculiar expression because of their generic differences in tone-color, quality. Hence it is entirely reasonable that the specific differences between the vowel sounds of the same voice may give to each particular vowel a peculiar expressional value. That is, \bar{o} (as in *gold*), because of its peculiarities as a sound, may naturally symbolize and express certain ideas which \bar{e} (*feel*) does not by its nature express, and which \bar{e} in arbitrary, accepted combinations does not, to the sensitive reader, *equally well* express.

This view is not opposed to the teachings of such writers as Professor Whitney, as these are set forth, for example, in the well-known work "Language and the Study of Language." Professor Whitney considers the origin and growth of language; we accept it as something given: for him language is an instrument answering utilitarian ends; for us it answers æsthetic ends.

Let us arrange the English vowel sounds in the following scale: —

ɪ (little)	ɪ (I)	ʊ (wood)
ē (met)	ū (due)	ow (cow)
ă (mat)	ăh (what)	ō (gold)
ē (mete)	āh (father)	ōō (gloom)
ai (fair)	oi (boil)	aw (awe)
ā (mate)	ū (but)	

The sounds at the beginning of this scale are especially fitted to express uncontrollable joy and delight, gayety, triviality, rapid movement, bright-

ness, delicacy, and physical littleness; the sounds at the end are peculiarly adapted to express horror, solemnity, awe, deep grief, slowness of motion, darkness, and extreme or oppressive greatness of size. The scale runs, then, from the little to the large, from the bright to the dark, from ecstatic delight to horror, and from the trivial to the solemn and awful. In this table short and long vowel-sounds and diphthongs have been mingled; for many purposes of expression, however, the short and long vowel-sounds are distinctly contrasted with each other, and it is not claimed that the scale follows an exact and inflexible natural order of sounds.

This vowel-table follows a physiological order. In uttering the first vowels in the series, we feel that they are shaped or modified by the front of the tongue, that they are formed in the front part of the mouth. Beginning with *i*, every vowel, and at least one of the sounds in each diphthong, receives its especial modification, or shaping, from the back of the tongue, and is recognized by us as made in the back of the mouth. If the so-called "visible speech" symbols of Professor A. M. Bell are employed, these facts are given visible expression.

A recognized principle of elocution helps to confirm the general truth of this scale. The vowels have been arranged, on the whole, in accordance with what is called natural, or inherent pitch. What is this quality termed natural pitch? If a

person utters the various English vowels in a purely natural, neutral tone, with no thought concerning the location of the sounds upon the musical scale, the various vowels will differ slightly in pitch. Singers know also that a high pitch is more easily reached with some vowels and a low pitch with others. Hence phoneticians recognize each vowel sound as having a certain inherent or natural pitch as compared with the others. The above table follows substantially the order of inherent pitch as given by Sweet and others. The sounds at the beginning of the list have a high natural pitch; the ideas and feelings which find their most fitting expression through these vowels are those which all elocutionists would express by the use of a high pitch. The sentiments that are assigned to the vowels of low natural pitch are brought out by a low pitch in expressive reading. What is more natural than that the individual vowel sounds shall be felt to be, according to their natural pitch, the best sound-representatives of these various feelings and ideas?

Perhaps the English language has never known a more skillful artist in the use of sound-effects than Tennyson. A phrase in Browning's "Ring and the Book," "a gleam i' the gloom" (II. 322), may have suggested the vowel-contrasts of this song:—

" Rainbow, stay,
Gleam upon gloom,
Bright as my dream,
Rainbow, stay !

But it passes away,
Gloom upon gleam,
Dark as my doom —
O rainbow, stay ! ”

Becket, III. i.

Here, *gleam*, *bright*, *dream*, are set over against *gloom*, *dark*, *doom*. “The Holy Grail” has this effective vowel-contrast : —

“ For every moment glanced
His silver arms and gloom’d, so quick and thick
The lightnings.”

Ll. 492-4.

Of course, poets often do not make use of contrasted vowels when the contrast of ideas would justify them in doing so. Thus Lowell has the line, —

“ The painted windows, frecking gloom with glow.”
The Cathedral.

In the following quotations illustrating the general scale, observe the fitness between the vowel sounds and the ideas expressed. Shallow orders in “II. Henry IV.” “a joint of mutton and *any pretty little tiny kickshaws*.” Ophelia does not wish Laertes to advise her virtuously, and then imitate the “reckless libertine,” who

“ Himself the primrose path of dalliance treads,
And recks not his own rede.”

The description of Queen Mab and her chariot in “Romeo and Juliet,” I. iv., expresses physical littleness and daintiness. All through the passage the accented, high, light vowels are felt to be the most telling. Who can be insensible to the color-

ing of "In shape no bigger than an agate-stone," and "Drawn with a team of little atomies"?

Drayton's names for the dainty elves who wait upon Queen Mab are interesting : —

"Hop, and Mop, and Drap so clear,
Pip, and Trip, and Skip, that were
To Mab their sovereign dear,
Her special maids of honor ;
Fib, and Tib, and Pinck, and Pin,
Tick, and Quick, and Jill, and Jin,
Tit, and Nit, and Wap, and Win,
The train that wait upon her."

Nymphidia.

The following line from Keats's "Eve of St. Agnes" shows how the upper part of the scale can express delicacy : —

"And lucent syrops, tinct with cinnamon."

Leigh Hunt comments thus : "Here is delicate modulation, and super-refined epicurean nicety!" One is compelled to "read the line delicately, and at the tip-end, as it were, of his tongue." The lingual consonants help in this effect, which is so marked that Hunt need not have said "as it were."

A few passages expressive of littleness and contempt need no comment : —

"Thou flea, thou nit, thou winter-cricket thou !"
The Taming of the Shrew, IV. iii. 110.

"He hath but a little wee face, with a little yellow beard."
Merry Wives of Windsor, I. iv. 22-3.

"Beneath, the tides of day and night
 With flame and darkness ridge
 The void, as low as where this earth
Spins like a fretful midge."

Rossetti, *The Blessed Damozel*.

Shakespeare uses a number of light-colored, often interjectional words, to express worthlessness, triviality, or contempt. Any one will appreciate this who will look up in his Shakespeare, by the help of a concordance, such words as *tilly-fally*, *tilly-vally*, *tiddle-taddle*, *fibble-fabble*, *pribbles* and *prabbles*, *tittle-tattling*, *kicky-wicky*, and *bible-babble*. "A fiddle-pin's end!" and "this rabble's brabble," occur in "The Ring and the Book." We have in English many compound words with the vowels *ĩ* and *ă* to which a petty force attaches, such as *chit-chat*, *fiddle-faddle*, *dilly-dally*, *knick-knack*, *riff-raff*, etc. There does not seem to be so much contempt or pettiness expressed by any one of our similar formations containing a darker vowel, as *tip-top*, *sing-song*, *ding-dong*, *see-saw*, etc.

An entire poem in light vowels and dainty consonant-effects, by Mr. Edgar Fawcett, appeared in "The Atlantic Monthly" for June, 1880. We quote a good portion of this delicious little monochrome.

MAIDENHAIR

When deep in some dim glade we pause,
 Perchance we mark how winds caress
 These lowly sprays of quivering gauze,
 Aerial in their slenderness.

The ruffled leaves of vapory green
 Fringe mimic branches, fine as thread,
 Above slim stems whose ebon sheen
 Is always mellowing into red.

.
 I half am tempted, while I gaze,
 To question of my wondering thought

If silvery whispers of the breeze
 Have found, as through the woods they went,
 In your phantasmal delicacies
 Ethereal embodiment !

Dr. Guest, in his "History of English Rhythms," tells us : "Shakespeare seems to have affected the short vowels and particularly the short *i*, when he had to describe any quickness of motion." This is natural. Large bodies move slowly and heavily, and their motion is best described and symbolized by slow, heavy vowels ; but quick movement calls for short, light vowels.

Let us turn to the lower part of the scale. Of course, whole poems will not be heavily shaded. That would be intolerable. Only emphatic words, phrases, and passages need be dark because the thought is dark ; and even there sound-analogy may be disregarded in favor of more important principles. These lines from Addison's "Cato" are darker than the mere counting of the dark syllables would show : —

"The dawn is overcast, the morning lowers,
 And heavily in clouds brings on the day."

We must weigh rather than count. Notice from "Othello," —

“ On horror’s head horrors accumulate ; ”

III. iii. 370.

and from Poe, —

“ ’T is the vault of thy lost Ulalume ! ”

and —

“ the lonesome October

Of my most immemorial year.”

Perhaps the difference between the force of the two extremes of the vowel-scale can be best felt if one reads the same passage in two ways, first prolonging the high vowels with great emphasis and hurrying over the low ones, then doing the reverse. For instance : —

“ No LONGER MOUEN for *me* when I am *dead*
Than you shall *hear* the SURLY SULLEN *bell*.”

The long vowels in the closing stanza of Tennyson’s “ Requiescat ” contrast noticeably with some expressive short vowels in the opening stanza of the lyric which stands next in our editions of the poet : —

“ And fairer she, but ah, how soon to die !
Her quiet dream of life this hour may cease.
Her peaceful being slowly passes by
To some more perfect peace.”

THE SAILOR BOY

He rose at dawn and, fired with hope,
Shot o’er the seething harbour-bar,
And reach’d the ship and caught the rope,
And whistled to the morning star.

The abrupt shortness of *struts* and *frets* is very expressive in a well-known line of “ Macbeth ” : —

"Life 's but a walking shadow, a poor player
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
And then is heard no more."

V. v. 24-6.

The most dissonant and unpleasing of all the vowel sounds in English is that of *a* in *flat*, *rang*. Harshness and dissonance of all kinds are expressed by this sound. The third division of "The Bells" rings with the twanging, jangling, wrangling clamor and clangor of the brazen bells. With equal force Browning says of certain lawyers: —

"Thus wrangled, brangled, jangled they a month."
The Ring and the Book, I. 238.

Tennyson uses this sound to set forth the harsh appearance of all nature after the death of Arthur:

"And *ghastly* thro' the drizzling rain
On the bald street breaks the *blank* day."

In Memoriam, vii.

Professor Genung notes "the harsh sibilants" in the first of these lines, and "the intentionally hard alliteration and utter want of rhythm" in the second. How abundant and forcible is the sound-symbolism here!

The brassy dissonance of this so-called short *a* makes it very effective in some cases of sound-imitation. It is combined in the following passage with the *sh*, of which I speak later: —

"Shield-breakings, and the clash of brands, the crash
Of battle-axes on shatter'd helmets, and shrieks
After the Christ."

Tennyson, The Passing of Arthur, 109-11.

The vowels especially fitted to symbolize rich-

ness, abundance, complete satisfaction, fullness of beauty, and kindred ideas, are \bar{o} , $\bar{a}h$, $\bar{o}\bar{o}$, $\bar{o}w$, \bar{i} (as in *mine*). These are peculiarly rich, sensuous impressions. Smooth, prolongable consonants, especially the semi-vowels, liquids, and nasals, add to the effect.

“Heav’n open’d wide
Her ever-during gates, harmonious sound
On golden hinges moving.”

Paradise Lost, VII. 205-7.

“Hear the mellow wedding bells,
Golden bells!
What a world of happiness their harmony foretells!
Through the balmy air of night
How they ring out their delight!
From the molten-golden notes,
And all in tune,
What a liquid ditty floats
To the turtle-dove that listens, while she gloats
On the moon!
Oh, from out the sounding cells
What a gush of euphony voluminously wells!”

Poe, The Bells.

Turning now to the consonant sounds, we find that these can be divided with some fitness into two classes, which may be called momentary and prolonged consonants. Those which are most distinctly momentary are the voiceless stops p , t , k ; next may be placed h , wh , f , th (as in *thin*); next to these the voiced stops b , d , g . The prolonged consonants are very numerous: w , y , l , r , z , zh (= z in *azure*), s , sh , m , n , ng , v , th (as in *then*). Strictly speaking, it is as easy to prolong f and th (*thin*) as the corresponding voiced sounds v and th

(*then*); but the latter pair are decidedly more soft and clinging in their effect.

In the production of the momentary consonants, especially all except the voiced stops, *b*, *d*, *g*, the muscular action is very intense and the release of the organs very marked; hence the explosive effect of these consonants is very decided. Not arbitrarily, then, but naturally and necessarily, the sounds *p*, *t*, *k*, *h*, *wh*, *f*, and *th* (*thin*) express boldness, precipitation, unexpectedness, vigor, determination, explosive passion, and forcible and startling effects of all kinds. They must be the initial consonants of accented syllables in order to have their full expressional value. Combinations of these letters, as *st*, *sp*, etc., have much the same force.

“Brazen bells!

What a world of terror now their turbulency tells!

In the startled ear of night

How they scream out their affright!”

Poe, *The Bells*.

“A cry that shiver’d to the tingling stars.”

Tennyson, *Morte d’Arthur*.

“Harry to Harry shall, hot horse to horse,

Meet and ne’er part till one drop down a corse.”

I *Henry IV.*, IV. i. 122-3.

“My good blade carves the casques of men,

My tough lance thrusteth sure,

My strength is as the strength of ten,

.

The splinter’d spear-shafts crack and fly.”

Tennyson, *Sir Galahad*.

Sometimes great power is given to a single momentary consonant.

"But somewhere, out of human view,
Whate'er thy hands are set to do
Is wrought with tumult of acclaim."

Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, lxxv.

"Such and so grew these holy piles,
Whilst love and terror laid the tiles."

Emerson, *The Problem*.

"Smote by the fresh beam of the springing east."

Morte d'Arthur.

The voiced stops *b*, *d*, *g*, give less startling and powerful effects than the more decided momentary consonants just considered. At times, when many voiced stops are associated, especially if they are contrasted with voiceless stops used immediately before or after, the effect is quite subdued. In "*The Ring and the Book*," the patriarch Noah is represented as saying concerning the returned dove:—

"Though this one breast by miracle return,
No wave rolls by, in all the waste, but bears
Within it some dead dove-like thing as dear,
Beauty made blank and harmlessness destroyed."

XII. 480-3.

Swinburne speaks of

"some dead lute-player
That in dead years had done delicious things."

A Ballad of Life.

In distinction from the momentary consonants, those which we have called prolonged are soft, mild, and pleasing. Note the dainty contrast in these lines:—

"To watch across the stricken chords
Your rosy-twinkling fingers flee!
Or woo you in soft woodland words,
With woodland pipe, Autonoë!"

Dobson, *To a Greek Girl*.

L and *r*, more distinctly than the other prolonged consonants, express softness, smoothness, liquidity, love, longing, lingering, and (forgive the anti-climax !) laziness. Other prolonged sounds reinforce this effect, and save the artist from using the energetic voiceless stops and spirants.

“ Elaine the fair, Elaine the lovable,
Elaine the lily maid of Astolat.”

Tennyson, *Lancelot and Elaine*, 1-2.

“ Philomel, with melody
Sing in our sweet lullaby ;
Lulla, lulla, lullaby, lulla, lulla, lullaby.”

A Midsummer-Night's Dream, II. ii. 13-15.

A second division of the consonant sounds is into those which are voiceless (whispered) and those which are voiced (accompanied by voice, the vibration of the vocal chords). The whispered consonants are the stops *p*, *t*, *k*, the spirants *f* and *th* (*thin*), and the sounds *wh*, *h*, *s*, and *sh*. The four last sounds are in the imitative words *hush* and *whisper*. The whispered sounds may be used effectively in expressing fear, secrecy, deception, caution, mystery, and all other ideas and emotions which naturally take the whisper.

Certain consonant sounds are especially rich, smooth, and pleasing. Such are *z* and *zh*, as in *easy*, *azure*, *pleasure*. Indeed, all the prolonged consonants may with some fitness be called rich, pleasing sounds, with the exception of *r*, when given its rough or consonantal pronunciation, *s*, and *sh* ; these three sounds will be touched upon later. The

consonants *z*, *zh*, *l*, *r*, and *w* are peculiarly soft and pleasant.

Sh is decidedly the most unpleasant consonant effect in English. Bacon says that "the noise of screech-owls hath resemblance with the letter sh." The brazen bells "can only shriek, shriek, shriek" ("The Bells"). Because *sh* is a whispered sound, it is also fitted to express fear, mystery, and allied ideas.

"And my pulses closed their gates with a shock on my heart as
I heard
The shrill-edged shriek of a mother divide the shuddering
night."

Tennyson, *Maud*, I. iv.

Thus every English sound has some special expressive force. Also, since a sound may have many striking characteristics, it may have more than one natural expression. The reader will surely think, now, that he has encountered a mounted specialist, riding his hobby to death. But let him consider that although the explosive quality of initial *h* gives it expressiveness in

"Harry to Harry shall, hot horse to horse,
Meet and ne'er part till one drop down a corse,"

I. Henry IV., IV. i. 122-3.

the same sound is also a guttural whisper, expressive of mystery, terror, etc., in the line, —

"An hideous Geaunt, horrible and hye."

Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, I. vii. 8.

Other guttural sounds and other whispered ones may have similar force. Note the following lines :

"A hell as hopeless and as full of fear
 As are the blasted banks of Erebus,
 Where shaking ghosts with ever-howling groans
 Hover about the ugly ferryman."

Marlowe, *First Part of Tamburlaine*, V. 243-6.

A sensitive reader will not always read the same sound in the same way. Lowell tells us, in his essay on Dryden, that the sibilants of our language can be made either to hiss or to sing. *S* should be prolonged in reading when intended to be unpleasant. When nicely articulated and not prolonged, it often expresses delicate, musical effects.

"And heard a mermaid on a dolphin's back
 Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath
 That the rude sea grew civil at her song,
 And certain stars shot madly from their spheres,
 To hear the sea-maid's music."

A Midsummer-Night's Dream, II. i. 150-4.

"Valeria, attend : I have a lovely love,
 As bright as is the heaven crystalline,
 As fair as is the milk-white way of Jove,
 As chaste as Phœbe in her summer sports.
 As soft and tender as the azure down
 That circles Cytherea's silver doves."

The Taming of a Shrew, 1594, Anonymous,
Bankside Shakespeare, vol. ii. p. 190.

In the case of *r*, what is called its rough, or consonantal value is exactly opposite in expressive power to its smooth, or vocalic utterance.

"Others with vast Typhœan rage more fell
 Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air
 In whirlwind."

Paradise Lost, II. 539-41.

"And shower'd the rippled ringlets to her knee."

Tennyson, *Godiva*.

In the awful curse which King Lear pronounces upon Goneril, how expressive is the word *thwart*! The interference and struggle of tongue, teeth, and lips, with which the word begins, are a powerful symbol of the moral perversity which Lear prays may inhabit the child of Goneril.

" If she must teem,
Create her child of spleen ; that it may live,
And be a thwart disnatured torment to her !"

King Lear, I. iv. 303-5.

In contrast with *thwart*, the powerful word *disnatured* gets little of its impressiveness through sound-symbolism.

In many passages in which the sounds employed are plainly significant, it is impossible to say just how much of the expression is due to each of the four sources that we have discussed, — muscular imitation, muscular analogy, sound-imitation, and sound-analogy. Some instances of this have already been noted. The first passage that we cited under muscular imitation is also a powerful illustration of sound-analogy : —

" I saw their starv'd lips in the gloom
With horrid warning gaped wide."

The low-pitched vowels in these lines bring out the mysterious horror of the knight's dream. The very impressive word *gloom* takes no part in the muscular imitation. In this line from Browning, describing a quarrelsome household, —

" Dog-snap and cat-claw, curse and counterblast,"
The Ring and the Book, II. 501.

we undoubtedly have both muscular symbolism and sound-symbolism, one of them more prominent in the first half of the line, the other in the last half.

Although the lines already cited, —

“ Elaine the fair, Elaine the lovable,
Elaine, the lily maid of Astolat,”

are strikingly effective in the way of sound-analogy, who shall say that the soft sounds have no trace of muscular analogy; that they are not also intended to bring before us the modest gestures and gentle movements of the lily maid?

Sound-imitation and sound-analogy are both present in the striking contrast which follows: —

“ So far her voice flow'd on, like timorous brook
That, lingering along a pebbled coast,
Doth fear to meet the sea: but sea it met,
And shudder'd; for the overwhelming voice
Of huge Enceladus swallow'd it in wrath:
The ponderous syllables, like sullen waves
In the half-glutted hollows of reef-rocks,
Came booming thus.”

Keats, *Hyperion*, II. 300-7.

Every part of Poe's poem “The Bells” is both imitative and symbolic; particular states of feeling are expressed by the same sounds that imitate the silver, golden, brazen, or iron bells, as they tinkle, chime, clang, or toll. Indeed, Poe wrote this poem consciously upon the distinct theory that those language sounds which best imitate some natural sound, here a bell of a particular tone, are intrinsically adapted to express at the same time certain allied emotions. This use of words and

phrases both to serve as onomatopoetic imitations and to call up the appropriate accompanying emotions is a common device of all poets, and must convince us that the line cannot be drawn between simple sound-imitation, onomatopœia, and the closely allied expression of emotion. To illustrate:

“Friend! but yesterday the bells
Rang for thee their loud *farewells*;

And to-day they *toll* for thee,
 Lying dead beyond the sea.”

Longfellow, Bayard Taylor.

It is interesting to express the vowel-coloring of “The Bells” in percentages. The constant repetition of the word “bells” has been called almost fatal to the poem, and at any rate it is a common factor in all the parts. Let us omit this word, and enumerate all the other accented syllables in the poem. Let us now fix attention upon the first seven vowels in the vowel-scale already given. In the first division of “The Bells,” that of the tinkling sledge-bells, 75.5 per cent. of all the accented syllables contain one of these seven vowels; in the second division, that of the golden wedding bells, 43.6 per cent. of the stressed syllables contain one of the vowels in question; in the division of the brazen alarum bells, 66.2 per cent.; and in the fourth, that of the tolling iron bells, 49.9 per cent.

The words *hoarse* and *croaks* in the following passage are distinctly imitative, yet the sound-symbolism is the especial source of their impressiveness as sounds: —

“The raven himself is hoarse
That croaks the fatal entrance of Duncan
Under my battlements.”

Macbeth, I. v. 39-41.

Lowell's comments upon this passage, in the essay “Shakespeare Once More,” bring out other and more important factors in its power.

Muscular analogy, sound-imitation, and sound-analogy seem all to be present in these craggy lines:—

“Dry clash'd his harness in the icy caves
And barren chasms, and all to left and right
The bare black cliff clang'd round him, as he based
His feet on juts of slippery crag that rang
Sharp-smitten with the dint of armed heels.”

Tennyson, *Morte d'Arthur*.

Is there any one principle to which all these four forms of sound-expressiveness can be reduced? Certainly most of the significant sound effects in language, and perhaps all of them, can be reduced ultimately to likeness of motion. This is more plainly true in the other cases than in those which come under sound-analogy. Is it not broadly true here? The slow vibrations of the air in a funeral dirge and the solemn movements of the mourning train correspond to the slow vibrations, or motions, of the low-pitched vowels in speech. The quick motions of delight correspond to the rapid vibrations of the light, high-pitched vowels.

Lest any one misunderstand, let it be said explicitly that the accepted meanings of words should not be disregarded or tampered with in an effort

to secure expressive sound effects. Sound-expression, to be effective, should be added to the usual methods of expression ; it should not infringe upon them. The significant use of sounds is an important element in poetry ; in proportion as prose departs in spirit from poetry and approximates science, less use will naturally be made of the expressive power of sounds.

Let the reader note, also, that we are not now concerned at all with sound effects that are simply pleasing, but with those that are significant ; we are discussing one method of expression ; we are not considering euphony. Swinburne is a writer who has a consuming passion for euphony, and a marvelous capacity for securing it in his poetry ; Browning tends always toward expressiveness. When Swinburne sings of the "lisp of leaves and ripple of rain," and of "a dead lute-player that in dead years had done delicious things," the effect is both euphonious and expressive ; but we feel that the sensuous charm of these phrases is what especially captivated their author, as it captivates us.

It is not an unusual thing for a passage to win a sensuous charm at the expense of sound-expressiveness. The alliteration in these lines from John Fletcher's "Melancholy," —

"Fountain-heads and pathless groves,
Places which pale passion loves !"

gives us a sensuous pleasure. But this sound effect is decidedly vigorous ; it does not bring out the idea of dreamy melancholy.

Although the sounds of English have changed some since the time of Shakespeare, yet the passages here cited have not been materially affected by this. The Irish pronunciation of English is decidedly older in some respects than our present standard. When Pope sings, —

“Here thou, great ANNA! whom three realms obey,
Dost sometimes counsel take — and sometimes tea,”

The Rape of the Lock, III. 7-8.

we must pronounce *tay*, with the Irishman, or lose the rhyme. In general, I hold that, whenever in the history of a language any sound or combination takes on a new pronunciation, all the words affected thereby become different *poetic material* because of the change, though for all ordinary purposes these words may well have the same value as before.

The analytic tendency of modern thinking, the determination to leave nothing uninvestigated, to pluck the heart out of every mystery, often displeases and even repels us. The writer has tried to investigate thoroughly the phenomena here discussed; but the fact is also appreciated that the human spirit can never be imprisoned in a formula; that the mind of man, in any of its important manifestations, will never be found out to perfection.

Although much remains uncertain in connection with the subject of this inquiry, it is hoped that the reader is convinced that a delicate use of sound-symbolism is one of the innermost secrets of style.

THE FINNISH "KALEVALA" AND
THE EPIC QUESTION

THE FINNISH "KALEVALA" AND THE EPIC QUESTION¹

THE interesting and important work upon the epic of the Finns, the "Kalevala," by the Italian scholar Comparetti, appeared in Italian in 1891 and in German in 1892. It now presents itself to us in a smooth and comely English dress, and Mr. Andrew Lang makes the introduction. A complete English translation of the poem itself, by an American scholar, Mr. John Martin Crawford, was published at New York in 1888.

The English translation of Comparetti violates literary ethics by appearing without an index, though the table of contents is somewhat full. Some page references will therefore be given.

The "Kalevala" has usually been looked upon "as an ancient national epos, orally preserved by tradition, and collected from the mouths of the people, principally by Lönnrot" (p. 10). In point of fact it was in many ways constructed by Lönnrot, not simply collected. The idea of combining the folk-songs of the Finns which treat the same or related subjects was first suggested to this scholar

¹ Revised from the *Dial*, August 15, 1899. The article was primarily a review of the English translation of Comparetti's work on the *Kalevala*, published by Longmans, with the title *The Traditional Poetry of the Finns*.

by the popular singers themselves, who feel free to combine several songs into a larger whole. Lönnrot finally went far beyond this, and attempted to weave into a great unified poem all that was most interesting and significant in the entire mass of Finnish folk-poetry. To do this he made alterations in the ballads somewhat freely, though in most cases he either followed some one of the various versions of the particular song, or at least made changes that could easily be paralleled from the actual folk-poetry. The unity of the "Kalevala" thus obtained, however, is something very imperfect; sometimes there is very little attempt to unify the various stories (p. 144); at times fundamental inconsistencies have been allowed to remain (pp. 148, 347 ff.); and what unity exists is often external rather than intrinsic. For example, the runes (songs) concerning Lemminkainen¹ are brought into a superficial connection with those about Wainamoinen and Ilmarinen by making him join those two heroes in the expedition for the recovery of the Sampo. "A third companion often actually occurs in the songs of the people, but this is never Lemminkainen," except in a single fragment (pp. 132, 135 n.). Chapter III. of Part I., "The Composition of the 'Kalevala,'" tells in detail just how Lönnrot built up the great poem from the materials furnished him in the folk-songs. This is perhaps the most interesting portion of the book. We learn

¹ The Finnish proper names are here given in the forms found in Crawford's translation.

here how it happens that the story of the making of the first harp from the bones of the great pike and of the exquisite singing of Wainamoinen (Runes 40, 41) is followed later by an account of the loss of this harp (close of Rune 42), and the making of a second from the sacred birch-tree (Rune 44). In reality, no Finnish singer knows of two harps. The loss of the first instrument was a pure invention of Lönnrot, in order that he might thereby weave into his poem another charming version of the origin of the harp. The changing of the tears of Wainamoinen into sea-pearls (Rune 41) is a striking incident which seems to have originated wholly with Lönnrot (p. 156; see also p. 257 concerning the making of the Sampo).

Lönnrot did not put any single rune into the "Kalevala" in just the form found in any particular version. So far as possible in each case, all the best lines and passages from the various renderings were combined. Thus every incident occupies more space in the "Kalevala" than in any actual folk-song. The collection of Abercromby¹ enables the lover of the "Kalevala" to study in English some of the original ballad-versions from which that epic was made.

The magic song, or charm, is the fundamental product of Finnish folk-poetry (pp. 24, 187, 232); the interesting belief that one who recites correctly

¹ See the second volume of *The Pre- and Proto-Historic Finns*, John Abercromby, London, 1898. Vols. ix. and x. of The Grimm Library.

the account of the origin of any evil force takes away thereby its power for harm (pp. 27, 229) explains why these magic songs are narrative in form, and suggests in a strange way the wise philosophy of Bacon. The Finns are perhaps the only people who have produced poetry of a high degree of excellence while still believing in the universal efficacy of magic (p. 24). The æsthetic power of song seems to be a later conception (p. 321). The hero in this poetry is the wizard, the magician (pp. 172, 185, 230). The deeds of separate hero-wizards make up the poem; "no peoples or social masses appear in collective action or in conflict" (pp. 22 f., 329). The thoroughly non-historical character of the "Kalevala" is a constant surprise to the student whose ideas have been formed by reading the other great folk-epics (pp. 23, 60, 246, 329).

It is noticeable that the best versions of the runes were not obtained in Finland proper.

"The Finns of Russia and of the Russian Church are still quite illiterate and in a state of primitive simplicity; among them the tradition of the songs has remained singularly fresh. For the genuine traditional rune is in its essence the poetry of the illiterate, the poetry of nature" (p. 19). "The northern region in which the ancient Russian songs most abound and are most unchanged is the same in which the poetical tradition of the Finns also is best preserved,—the government of Archangel, and Olonetz from Lake Onega to Lake Ladoga" (p. 311).

The case here is parallel to that of our English ballads. When the publication of Percy's "*Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*," in 1765, aroused a general interest in our folk-songs, it was only in the remoter parts of Scotland that these were still current in the mouths of the people. No one singer furnished so many choice ballads as Mrs. Brown of Falkland, who is fairly entitled to be the patron-saint of ballad-lovers. Versions of thirty-one ballads were obtained from her. In many cases her version is easily the best one extant; while the ballad "*Allison Gross*" and the pure gold of "*Willie's Lady*" have been preserved to us by her alone. It throws a flood of light upon the nature of folk-poetry to learn just how this woman obtained her songs. She was born in 1747, and learned her ballads before she was twelve. Her father, Professor Thomas Gordon of Aberdeen, wrote about her in these words:—

"An aunt of my children (Mrs. Farquharson, now [1799?] dead), who was married to the proprietor of a small estate near the sources of the Dee, in Braemar, a good old woman, who spent the best part of her life among flocks and herds, resided in her latter days in Aberdeen. She was possessed of a most tenacious memory, which retained all the songs she had heard from the nurses and country-women in that sequestered part of the country. Being maternally fond of my children, when young, she had them much about her, and delighted them with her songs and tales of chivalry. My youngest daughter, Mrs. Brown, at Falkland, is blessed with

a memory as good as her aunt's, and has almost the whole of her songs by heart." ¹

If the reader will look up on a good map the sources of the Dee in Braemar in Western Aberdeenshire, where Mrs. Brown's aunt learned her ballads, he will note that the district is one of the wildest in Scotland. The region contains a large number of the loftiest mountains in that country. Only a fortunate chance preserved to us the choice folk-songs which still lingered in that remote corner of Great Britain during the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

Mr. Lang's main interest in the "Kalevala" and in the work of Comparetti is because of the light thrown by them upon the broader Homeric question, better called the epic question, — the problem concerning the mode of origin of the world's great national epics. Indeed, this larger question was probably the especial stimulus which led Comparetti himself to study the epic of the Finns.

The reason why this problem is an endless one is not far to seek. Since Wolf in 1795 advocated the view that the Iliad was put together from separate songs, two tendencies have been clearly developed in the theorizings concerning the origin of folk-epics. One tendency accents the element of folk-poetry, popular poetry, as the fundamental fact. Since most popular poetry is narrative, and this exists almost entirely in the form of separate

¹ Nichols's *Illustrations of the Literary History of the XVIIIth Century*, vol. vii. p. 178.

ballads, this view makes much of the individual folk-songs, and makes little of the grave difficulties which confront one who tries to explain how any particular epic was put together or otherwise developed from these elements. These difficulties are somewhat mitigated by the theory that the *Iliad*, for example, existed at one time as a simpler though complete poem, a primary *Iliad*, to which successive additions have been made. We must remember, also, that in folk-poetry itself we find ballads combined into larger compositions. The English "Gest of Robin Hood" is admitted to be a composite of different ballads. Compound ballads are well known to the Finns. Comparetti gives one which corresponds to five different runes of the "Kalevala" and parts of three others (pp. 158 ff.). It is somewhat misleading, therefore, to suggest that no "song existing independently ever figures in a large poem" (p. viii).

The second tendency in explaining the origin of popular epics is to accent the element of plan and the organic unity of the great mass of material, and either to overlook the precedent folk-songs or at least to minimize their importance. The origin of a popular epic, however, cannot possibly be explained without the presence in some measure of both factors, — the creative but unconscious folk-spirit, and the conscious master poet. Inasmuch as folk-poetry cannot flourish except in a society uncultured and free from self-consciousness, incapable of observing and reporting the phenomena of its

own mental life, both the general problem and that with reference to each particular epic become impossible of exact solution. The importance of the "Kalevala" in this line of inquiry is very great, since it is "the only example we have of a national poem actually resulting from minor songs; these songs being not discoverable in it according to some preconceived idea by means of inductive analysis, but known as really existing independently of the large composition" (p. ix). Lönnrot thought himself to be a Finnish Homer, composing the epic of his race from their stores of song. Comparetti points out that Lönnrot, though a folk-poet at heart, was also a scholar, filled with modern theorizings concerning the making of popular epics (p. 340); and "the processes of such a man are no argument for early Greece" (Lang, p. xvi). Moreover, although Lönnrot alters and transposes with great freedom, and sometimes inserts original passages, the "Kalevala" comes far short of possessing a unity like that of the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. Though charming in all its parts, the Finnish epic, when considered as a whole, remains in many respects a piece of patchwork.

There can be no doubt, I think, that Mr. Lang underestimates the importance of the folk element in the Homeric poems. He says, using in part the language of Comparetti: —

"In my opinion the maker of the *Iliad* did just what was done by the maker of 'The Lay of the Last Minstrel.' Out of his knowledge of facts or fancies, as ex-

isting in lays and traditions, he fashioned a long poem with beginning, middle, and end, with 'organic unity, harmony, proportion of parts coördinated among themselves, and converging towards a final catastrophe' " (p. xxi).

But the two cases are far from parallel. The conception of a body of songs concerning the Trojan War, which give an accurate version of the events, is distinctly assumed in the *Odyssey* itself (Bk. I. ll. 350 ff., VIII. 74 ff., 489 ff., 500 ff.). Without insisting that this conception is correct for the lifetime of an actual Odysseus, it seems clear that the nature of the popular literature in existence at the time when the *Odyssey* was composed made this conception appear not only natural but unquestionable.

Comparetti declares: "A long poem, created by the people, does not exist, cannot exist; epic popular songs, such as could be put together into a true poem, have never been seen and are not likely to be seen among any people" (p. 352). This seems extreme in view of what a Russian scholar named Radloff has told us about the popular poetry of a Turkish tribe, the Kara-Kirghis.¹ These people dwell among the mountains of Central Asia, in the general neighborhood of Lake Issyk-kul and the city

¹ *Proben der Volksliteratur der nördlichen türkischen Stämme*. Gesammelt und übersetzt von Dr. W. Radloff. V. Teil, Dialect der Kara-Kirgisen. The book is in Russian. The writer is very greatly indebted to Professor George C. Howland of the University of Chicago for making him a written translation of the entire Introduction.

of Kashgar, near the westernmost border of the Chinese Empire. The poetry of this tribe, according to Radloff, is still "in a certain original period which is best called the genuinely epic period, that same period in which the Greeks were found when their epic songs of the Trojan war were not yet written, but lived in the form of genuine folk-poetry in the mouths of the people." The national feeling of the Kara-Kirghis "has united separate epic songs into one undivided whole. . . . The different traditions and stories, historical recollections, tales, and ballads, as though in obedience to some force of attraction, combine about an epic centre, and in all their dismemberment appear parts of a comprehensive general picture." "Only a people which has not reached individual culture," says Radloff, "can create bards from its midst, and develop a period of contemporaneous epic. With the spread of culture" come "rhapsodists who do not compose themselves, but sing songs borrowed from others." Radloff cites the following passage from Steinthal: "Up to 1832 no one knew of a whole Finnish epic. . . . No one had knowledge of the unity, and yet . . . it was existent in the songs themselves."¹ Radloff comments on this as follows: "From this I venture only to conclude that among the Finns in the year 1832 the period of contemporaneous epic (as it now exists among the Kara-Kirghis) was already past. In the epic period the consciousness of the unity of the epic is still living in each portion of the whole."

¹ "Das Epos," *Zeitschrift für Völker-psychologie*, V.

It must be admitted that so far as Radloff enters into details concerning the poetry of the Kara-Kirghis, the epic unity which binds together the various songs of the tribe appears to be somewhat loose and vague; but it seems clear that a real unity is felt, and that Comparetti has gone too far in the assertion cited above. The following comprehensive statement of Comparetti is entirely just; but I take the liberty to emphasize two adjectives: "In proportion as the epic songs unite to form a wide, *well-defined*, and *stable* organism, strictly popular and collective work is lost sight of, while the work of the individual is accentuated and brought to light" (p. 339).

It is a striking fact that the most important poems in English which have some right to be regarded as epics of art approximate closely to the folk-epic in some essential respects. "Sigurd the Volsung," by William Morris, is a fascinating retelling in a continuous poem of the various Eddic poems concerning Sigurd and of the prose Volsunga Saga. The poet makes no attempt to remove all the difficulties and inconsistencies which he found in his sources. The story which Tennyson chose for his theme in "The Idylls of the King" took its rise in remote Celtic tradition, and, becoming later a literary tradition, had attracted other stories to itself and had been fashioned and refashioned centuries before Tennyson. The general story of Milton's "Paradise Lost" was first told in a form destined to dominate subsequent writers by Bishop Avitus

of Vienne, about 500 A. D., in his Latin epic poem, "De Spiritualis Historiæ Gestis." Professor Marsh of Harvard University tells us that this poem was itself the outcome of a precedent poetic tradition, and that it was especially poetical and powerful "largely because Avitus made use freely and skillfully of what his predecessors had done."¹ Yet Avitus wrote nearly twelve hundred years before Milton. Some of the more important English versions of this story between Avitus and Milton are to be found in the poems formerly attributed to Cædmon, in the "Cursor Mundi," and in the cycles of mystery plays. The last editor of "Paradise Lost," Mr. Moody, in his admirable "Cambridge Milton," discusses only the different Renaissance poems which treat of the Fall of Man, and which may have directly influenced Milton. If we bear in mind the entire tradition, the following words of Mr. Moody become so much more expressive: in a "restricted but still significant sense, 'Paradise Lost' is a 'natural epic,' with a law of growth like that of Beowulf or the Iliad."

We can say in general that the two conceptions — that of an epic with a story wholly invented by its author, so far as invention is possible, and that of one made up of folk-songs unaltered but arranged in the most effective order — are the polar opposites of each other. It is probably impossible that a large, impressive, and unified poem, one which we could properly term an epic, a master-

¹ Article on Avitus, *Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia*.

piece of grand narrative, could approximate very closely to either of these poles. Tasso, in his "*Jerusalem Delivered*," and Camoens, in the "*Lusiads*," have made acknowledged epic masterpieces upon historical themes; these poems come nearest to one of these extremes. But among all the epics accessible to the general reader, the "*Kalevala*" comes nearest to the other extreme, that of a simple arrangement of folk-songs.

The "*Kalevala*" has an especial interest for the people of the United States. Among the longer poems that have been produced in America, Longfellow's "*Hiawatha*" is perhaps the most successful. In this poem the measure and the style of the "*Kalevala*" have been used with admirable taste and skill to embody the rich mythology of the North American Indians.

Political happenings have also called our attention to Finland. After Russia wrested this district from Sweden in 1809, the inhabitants enjoyed more freedom and a better government than any other portion of the empire. But now their cherished rights have been taken away, and the Finns have appealed in vain to the civilized world for sympathy and moral support. Would that the recent acts of our own republic had not taken away from us the right and the power to speak out effectively in behalf of freedom and self-government for the distressed Finns!

HAMLET'S
“WOO 'T DRINK UP EISEL?”

HAMLET'S "WOO 'T DRINK UP EISEL?"¹

FURNESS, in his great Variorum edition^{*} of "Hamlet," begins as follows five pages of original and selected comments upon this expression:—

"With the exception of 'the dram of eale,' no word or phrase in this tragedy has occasioned more discussion than this *Esill* [the Second Quarto] or *Esile* [the First Folio]. . . . Theobald saw the difficulty so clearly that subsequent criticism has chiefly ranged itself on one or other of the two interpretations suggested by him, viz. that the word either represents the name of a river, or is an old word, meaning vinegar."²

The phrase under discussion comes at the beginning of a well-known speech of Hamlet to Laertes at the grave of Ophelia:—

"'Swounds, show me what thou 'lt do:

Woo 't weep? woo 't fight? woo 't fast? woo 't tear thyself?

Woo 't drink up eisel? eat a crocodile?

I 'll do 't."

V. i. 297-300.

It is noticeable that the First Quarto text of the play does not contain the word that troubles us.

¹ Revised from the *Modern Language Notes*, December, 1894.

² I. p. 405.

The question that there appears is, "Wilt drinke up vessels?"

Without going into the controversy over the exact force of *up* in "Woo't drink up eisel?" it is safe to accept the conclusion of Furness, "that in the present passage, 'drink up esill' means no more than to 'quaff esill.'"

I believe that the *denotation* "vinegar" for the word *Esill*, *Esile*, has seemed unsatisfactory simply because the *connotation* of the phrase as a whole has not been understood; and that an allusion is intended to the draught of vinegar and gall offered to Christ. This draught was looked upon during the Middle Ages as a bitter, loathsome compound, and the offer of it to Christ as a crowning insult and a crowning torture. According to this view, the phrase takes all its fullness of meaning from this distinct reference to the dying agonies of the Crucified One.

Three different offers of "vinegar" to Christ at the time of the crucifixion seem to be recorded in the Gospels, as indicated below. An "interpretation" of each offer is added, taken from the comments upon the passages concerned that are given in the volumes of the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. It may be presumed that the special students of the New Testament at the present day accept these interpretations substantially as here given.

I.	II.	III.
The offer of vinegar and gall (or myrrh) before the crucifixion.	The mocking offer of vinegar during the early part of the time that Christ is hanging upon the cross.	The offer of a sponge filled with vinegar just before Christ's death.
Christ tastes, but does not drink.	Christ does not drink.	Christ drinks.
—	—	—
Matt. xxvii. 33-34. Mark xv. 23.	Luke xxiii. 36.	Matt. xxvii. 48. Mark xv. 36. John xix. 28-30.
—	—	—
Interpretation: A stupefying draught offered in mercy.	Interpretation: "By the word 'mocked' seems to be meant that they lifted up to His lips the vessels containing their ordinary drink — sour wine — and then snatched them away."	Interpretation: "Probably in compassion rather than mockery; or perhaps in compassion under cover of mockery." (A. Plummer, St. John.)

We can hardly expect to find better evidence as to the way in which the Englishmen of the Middle Ages conceived of the crucifixion than that given us by the dramas that treat of this in the great cycles of English mystery plays. Any interpretation in which the four extant cycles agree was almost certainly the universal interpretation at the time that "Hamlet" was written; for the York Plays continued to be performed until Shakespeare was fifteen years old, while the Chester Plays were acted for the last time in 1600.

In the mystery plays there is only a single offer of vinegar. The conception common to all four cycles seems to be the following: —

1. The drink used is vinegar mingled with gall, or myrrh.

2. The drink is the most unpalatable mixture that malice can devise. It is offered to Christ when He is tortured with thirst. In the so-called Coventry play of the Crucifixion, we learn that the very sight of the draught causes His face to become distorted with loathing.

3. This offer of vinegar and gall is the last insult and torture to which Christ is subjected. He refuses the draught, apparently not even tasting it, and dies immediately afterward.

4. The word used is *aysell*, *asell*, *ascill*, *eyzil*. No other word is used for vinegar in connection with this incident, so far as I have noted.

Wycliffe, however, uses *aycel* in Matt. xxvii. 48 only, out of the six passages noted above, and there he adds the explanatory gloss *or vynegre*; in the other places he uses *vynegre*, *wyn*, and *wiyn*.

This conception of the draught of vinegar and gall as a malicious means of torture seems to be so old that only the agreement of reputable scholars makes one accept the modern interpretation. In the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, just after the crucifixion, when the inhabitants of the world of the dead are expecting Christ to come among them, “Satan, prince of Tartarus,” says boastingly to Hades:—

“Why hast thou doubted, and feared to receive this Jesus, thy adversary and mine? For I have tempted him, and I have roused up my ancient people the Jews with hatred and anger against him; I have sharpened a lance to strike him; I have mixed gall and vinegar to

give him to drink ; and I have prepared wood to crucify him, and nails to pierce him, and his death is near at hand, that I may bring him to thee, subject to thee and me." ¹

Let us now note in each of the four cycles of mystery plays some of the most striking lines that illustrate the above statements.

The York Plays : ² xxxvi., "Mortificacio Cristi."

"*Jesus.*

A ! me thristis sare. [I thirst

Garcio. A drinke shalle I dresse the in dede,

A draughte that is full dayntely dight,

.

Nowe swete sir, youre will yf it ware,

A draughte here of drinke haue I dreste,

To spede for no spence that ȝe spare,

[That for no expense ye spare to thrive

But baldely ye bib it for the beste

For-why ;

Aysell and galle

Is menged with alle, [mingled

Drynke it ȝe schalle,

Your lippis, I halde thame full drye.

Jesus. Thi drinke it schalle do me no deere, [harm

Wete thou wele ther-of will I none." [know thou

After speaking eleven lines more in this same speech, Jesus dies.

The Towneley Plays : ³ "Crucifixio."

"*Jesus.*

Now thyrst I, wonder sore.

primus tortor. Noght bot hold thi peasse !

¹ *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. viii., Buffalo, 1885. "The Gospel of Nicodemus," Part II., "Christ's Descent into Hell," chap. 4.

² Clarendon Press, 1885.

³ Early English Text Society, 1897.

Thou shall have drynke within a resse, [with a rush
 My self shalbe thy knaue;
 have here the draght that I the hete, [promise
 And I shall warand it is not swete,
 On all the good I haue."

The drawing lots for the coat comes next. Christ speaks six lines more in two speeches before dying.

In a later play in the same cycle, "Resurreccio domini," Christ says:—

"And yit more understand thou shall;
 In stede of drynk they gaf me gall,
 Asell thay menged it withall,
 The Iues fell;
 The payn I haue, tholyd I to saue [suffered
 Mans saull from hell."

The Chester Plays: ¹ "The Crucifixion."

"*Jesus*. My thurste is sore, my thurste is sore!
Tercius Judeus. Yea, thou shalte have drinke therfore,
 That thou shall liste drinke no more [desire
 Of all this seven yeaire."

Jesus then utters a dying speech of five lines.

In play xviii., "The Harrowing of Hell," Satan says of Christ:—

"Againste this shrewe that sittes here
 I tempted the folke in fowle manere,
 Ascill and gall to his dynere [dinner
 I made them for to dighte."

The Coventry Mysteries ² (so-called): xxxii.,
 "The Condemnation and Crucifixion of Christ."

"*Jhesus*. So grett a thrust dede nevyr man take
 As I have, man, now for thi sake;
 For thrust asundyr my lyppys gyn crake,— [crack
 For drynes thei do cleve.

¹ The Shakespeare Society, 1843.

² *Ludus Coventriæ*, etc., The Shakespeare Society, 1841.

Tertius Judæus. ȝour thrust, sere hoberd, for to slake,
 Eyȝil and galle here I the take,
 What! me thynkyth a mowe ȝe make: — [grimace
 Is not this good drynk?
 To crye for drynke ȝe had gret hast,
 And now it semyth it is but wast, —
 Is not this drynk of good tast?
 Now telle me how ȝe thynk!"

Jesus then utters his dying words.

That the letter ȝ in the word "eyȝil" can have the pronunciation of *z* is plain from the form "Belȝabub" = Beelzebub in the twenty-second play of this same cycle.

No city of England was more famous for its Scripture plays than Coventry, situated only eighteen miles from Stratford-on-Avon. Two of the craft-plays of Coventry have come down to us, although the so-called Coventry cycle is not thought to be rightly named. That the craft-plays of Coventry agreed in the main with those in the cycles that we possess is not only probable *a priori*; it is made quite certain by the fact that one scene, the Disputation of Christ with the Doctors in the Temple, is largely the same in the York Plays, the Woodkirk (Towneley) Plays, the Chester Plays, and in the play of the Weavers of Coventry.¹

The following passages from Mr. Halliwell-Phillips, in which he speaks of the English mystery plays, are of interest: —

"That Shakespeare, in his early youth, witnessed representations of some of these mysteries, cannot admit

¹ See Davidson, *Modern Language Notes*, vii. p. 92; French, *Ibid.*, xix. 31-2.

of a reasonable doubt. . . . The performances which then took place nearly every year at Coventry attracted hosts of spectators from all parts of the country, while, at occasional intervals, the mystery players of that city made theatrical progresses to various other places. It is not known whether they favored Stratford-on-Avon with a professional visit, but it is not at all improbable that they did, for they must have passed through the town in their way to Bristol, where it is recorded that they gave a performance in the year 1570.”

“It is impossible to say to what extent even the Scriptural allusions in the works of Shakespeare himself may not be attributed to recollections of such performances, for in one instance at least [Hamlet’s expression, ‘It out-herods Herod.’ III. ii. 15–6] the reference by the great dramatist is to the history as represented in those plays, not to that recorded in the New Testament.”¹

Among the quotations cited by Furness in his comments upon this passage in the “*Variorum Hamlet*,” two refer to Christ, and represent Him as tasting the “eisel and gall,” in accordance with the account of Matthew. These passages look upon this tasting as one of the tortures of the crucifixion. From Sir Thomas More’s *Poems* is quoted: “remember therewithal How Christ for thee tasted eisel and gall.” In the eighth prayer in the “*Salisbury Primer*,” 1555, we have the words: “O blessed Jesu! . . . I beseech thee for the bitterness of the aysell and gall that thou tasted.”

¹ *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, 10th ed., vol. i. pp. 46–7, 50.

Professor J. M. Hart has called attention¹ to the following passage from the "Kalender of Sheperdes":² "and than was he nayled on the crosse and late fall in the mortis and than gaue hym eysell and gall to drynke." The "Kalender" was a popular book in the sixteenth century, appearing in many editions.

In "Nares' Glossary" (edition of Halliwell and Wright) the following is quoted from Skelton:—

"He paid a bitter pencion
For man's redemption,
He dranke eisel and gall
To redeme us withal."

The different forms of the word *eisel* occur in a moderately large number of passages, and in various writers. The latest example of its use that is given in the "New English Dictionary" bears the date 1634.

The older conception of the draught of vinegar and gall as a malicious device for torturing the Lord, survives in a stanza of the well-known hymn "Coronation." It is clear that the lines in question derived their force from the wrong interpretation of this incident:—

"Sinners whose love can ne'er forget
The wormwood and the gall;
Go, spread your trophies at his feet,
And crown him Lord of all."

Apparently the phrase "to drink eisel" came to

¹ *Modern Language Notes*, vol. xi. (1896), p. 29.

² Sommer's reprint of the London edition of 1506, vol. iii. p. 156/6.

have a proverbial meaning, and to contain an allusion to the mixture of eisel and gall that was offered to Christ. The different offers of vinegar were confused; hence, while Christ seems to have been thought of in the mystery plays as refusing the draught, other writers speak of Him as tasting, and others still as drinking. All certainly conceived of the eisel and gall as the bitterest mixture possible.

One of the most intensely personal of Shakespeare's Sonnets, No. cxi., contains the word *eisel*:

"O, for my sake do you with Fortune chide,
The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,
That did not better for my life provide
Than public means which public manners breeds.
Thence comes it that my name receives a brand,
And almost thence my nature is subdued
To what it works in, like the dyer's hand:
Pity me then and wish I were renew'd;
Whilst, like a willing patient, I will drink
Potions of eisel 'gainst my strong infection;
No bitterness that I will bitter think,
Nor double penance, to correct correction.
Pity me then, dear friend, and I assure ye
Even that your pity is enough to cure me."

The word *eisel* in the above lines evidently refers to the use of vinegar as a remedy in cases of infection; but this sonnet furnishes no reason for rejecting the explanation that is here offered for the passage in "Hamlet."

Hamlet's phrase, then, "Woo't drink up eisel?" seems to mean something like this: "Would you rival the agonies of the Crucified One?" Those who have interpreted *Esile* as a river because

the context demands hyperbole, will note that in the English mystery plays Christ does not even taste the vinegar and gall. They are at liberty, therefore, to find in this expression the hyperbolic meaning, "Would you go beyond the agonies of the dying Saviour?"

It seems highly probable that the expression "to drink eisel" passed into common use through the influence of the mystery plays, and that this much-discussed phrase in "Hamlet" marks a hitherto unnoticed point of connection between Shakespeare and the primitive English drama.

SHAKESPEARE AND "THE TAMING
OF THE SHREW"

SHAKESPEARE AND "THE TAMING OF THE SHREW" ¹

ONE is naturally prejudiced against the suggestion that the first edition of Shakespeare's plays, brought out by his friends Heminge and Condell as the noblest possible memorial of their dead associate, contains work that is not his. But this view was advocated near the middle of the nineteenth century by two men whose opinion on such a question must be treated with great respect — Alfred Tennyson and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Tennyson used to point out to his companions at Cambridge what he considered to be the genuine parts of Shakespeare's "Henry VIII." His close friend James Spedding, in a careful article, assigned certain portions of this play to Shakespeare, and the remainder to John Fletcher.² It is probable that Tennyson was the "man of first-rate judgment," of whom Spedding speaks, who casually remarked "that many passages in 'Henry VIII.' were very much in the manner of Fletcher."

¹ This paper is in the main a reprint of a portion of the article entitled "Shakespeare's Part in 'The Taming of the Shrew,'" which appeared in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. v. (1890), pp. 201-278.

² *The Gentleman's Magazine*, August, 1850. Reprinted in *The Transactions of the New Shakspere Society* for 1874.

The following may be taken as the laureate's final opinion : —

“I have no doubt that much of ‘Henry VIII.’ is not Shakespeare. It is largely written by Fletcher, with passages unmistakably by Shakespeare, notably the two first scenes in the first Act, which are sane and compact in thought, expression, and simile.”¹

In his “Representative Men,” published in 1850, Emerson, knowing nothing of Tennyson's opinion, speaks thus of the two styles in this play : —

“In ‘Henry VIII.’ I think I see plainly the cropping out of the original rock on which his [Shakespeare's] own finer stratum was laid. The first play was written by a superior, thoughtful man, with a vicious ear. I can mark his lines, and know well their cadence. See Wolsey's soliloquy, and the following scene with Cromwell, where instead of the metre of Shakespeare, whose secret is that the thought constructs the tune, so that reading for the sense will best bring out the rhythm, — here the lines are constructed on a given tune, and the verse has even a trace of pulpit eloquence. But the play contains through all its length unmistakable traits of Shakespeare's hand, and some passages, as the account of the coronation, are like autographs.”

The separation made by Spedding between the genuine and the non-Shakespearean parts of “Henry VIII.” has come to be very generally accepted; also his identification of Fletcher as the writer whose work is here associated with that of Shakespeare.

¹ *Alfred Lord Tennyson, A Memoir*, vol. ii. p. 291.

This striking instance of reputable suspicion concerning a play in the Shakespearean canon has been followed by similar questioning about other dramas, and in a few cases with somewhat similar results. Other plays which are now believed by most scholars to be only in part by Shakespeare are "Timon of Athens" and "The Taming of the Shrew," this last the subject of the present paper. It has been noted in a previous essay¹ that the unfitting Hecate portions of "Macbeth" are considered to be interpolations.

For different reasons it has been held by many students that the three parts of "Henry VI." and "Titus Andronicus" are not entirely the work of the great dramatist. The questions involved are numerous and difficult, and cannot be even glanced at here. The views of scholars vary widely, and the whole subject in each case remains open.

Strictly speaking, the burden of proof is entirely upon those who assert that Shakespeare had any hand whatever in the play "Pericles." It is not in the First Folio edition of his dramatic works. It is one of seven plays added in the Third Folio, and in the composition of the other six of these it is not now claimed that Shakespeare had any part. However, certain of the nobler portions of "Pericles" are very generally accepted as his, on the ground that the language and style are peculiarly Shakespearean. No one would claim that he wrote the entire work.

¹ See pp. 96, 103.

Let us now turn to the play that is to receive our especial attention. There is a presumption against the view that "The Taming of the Shrew" is not entirely the work of the poet whose name it bears. From the annual statistics given in the "Jahrbücher" of the German Shakespeare Society we learn that, during the four years 1885-8, "The Taming of the Shrew" was played 297 times in the usual version, and 153 times in the Holbein adaptation, "Liebe kann Alles," a total of 450 times. No other play of Shakespeare was put upon the stage so frequently. "Othello" and "Hamlet" come next, with 414 and 347 performances in the same period. These statistics seem to be intended to cover substantially all the European theatres in which German is spoken. Can it be that Shakespeare was not the sole author of a play which still holds the stage in England and America, and which is so exceptionally popular in Germany, the second fatherland of the great poet?

This comedy is the only one, however, that calls for supplementary statistics in the "Jahrbücher." Apparently, this play alone among those attributed to Shakespeare has been so skillfully rewritten by a later author that his revision secures permanent approval and acceptance in critical Germany. This peculiar condition of things certainly suggests that the comedy may be only in part the work of Shakespeare.

"The Taming of the Shrew" (which we will call for brevity "The Shrew") stands in very close connection with a play entitled "The Taming

of a Shrew" ("A Shrew"). The latter piece was first printed in 1594, again in 1596, and a third time in 1607. In the words of Hudson, "This play and Shakespeare's agree in having substantially the same plot, order, and incidents, so far as regards the Lord, the Tinker, Petruchio, Catharine, and the whole taming process." ¹

The underplot of "The Shrew," the story of Bianca and her rival lovers, is founded upon "The Supposes," "a comedy written in the Italian tongue by Ariosto, Englished by George Gascoigne, of Gray's Inn, Esquire; and there presented, 1566." ² The following elements, indeed, have passed from "The Supposes" into the underplot of both plays, "A Shrew" and "The Shrew": a young gentleman disguises himself in order to sue for a lady, while his servant takes the master's rôle. A false father gives assurance of a marriage portion; then the real father appears. In the main, however, the underplot of "A Shrew" consists of a saccharine wooing of two willing ladies by two lofty lovers.

The correspondence between those parts of "The Shrew" where Katharine and Petruchio are upon the stage together and similar passages in "A Shrew" is very remarkable. The occurrences are the same in both plays. This is also true of the connected incidents in Petruchio's house. We find also, in these parts, an agreement in the language,

¹ *Harvard Shakespeare*, vol. ii. p. 131. The most convenient edition of *A Shrew* is vol. ii. of the *Bankside Shakespeare*. This prints *A Shrew* and *The Shrew* upon opposite pages.

² In vol. i. of *Gascoigne's Complete Works*, 2 vols., Roxburghe Library, 1869-70.

which, though much less complete than the agreement in the action, is far more remarkable, extending at times to minute and unimportant details of expression. With the exception of Parts II. and III. of "Henry VI.," such a close correspondence as we have here between the language of a play attributed to Shakespeare and that of another existing piece cannot be found.

In order to make plain the character of these verbal agreements, those which concern Scene iii. of Act IV. of "The Shrew" and the corresponding portion of the companion play are here presented in parallel columns.

IV. iii. "THE SHREW "

"I prithee go and get me some repast."

"What say you to a piece of beef and mustard?"

"Ay, but the mustard is too hot a little."

"I pray you, let it stand."

"When you are gentle, you shall have one too, And not till then."

"Belike you mean to make a puppet of me. *Pet.* Why, true; he means to make a puppet of thee."

"Thou hast faced many things. *Tai.* I have. *Gru.* Face not me: thou hast braved many men; brave not me; I will neither be faced nor braved. I say unto thee, I bid thy master cut out the gown; but I did not bid him cut it to pieces: ergo, thou liest.

"A SHREW "

"I prithee help me to some meat."

"What say you to a piece of beef and mustard now?"

"I doubt the mustard is too choleric for you."

"I pray you, sir, let it stand."

"Ay, when you're meek and gentle, but not before."

"Belike you mean to make a fool of me. *Feran.* Why, true; he means to make a fool of thee."

"Dost thou hear, Tailor? Thou hast braved many men: brave not me. Thou'st faced many men. *Tai.* Well, sir. *San.* Face not me. I'll neither be faced nor braved at thy hands, I can tell thee."

Tai. Why, here is the note of the fashion to testify. *Pet.* Read it.

Gru. The note lies in 's throat, if he say I said so. *Tai.* [*Reads*]

'Imprimis, a loose-bodied gown.'

Gru. Master, if ever I said loose-bodied gown, sew me in the skirts of it, and beat me to death with a bottom of brown thread: I said a gown. *Pet.* Proceed.

Tai. [*Reads*] 'With a small compassed cape:' *Gru.* I confess the cape. *Tai.* [*Reads*]

'With a trunk sleeve:' *Gru.* I confess two sleeves."

"Go take it up unto thy master's use. *Gru.* Villain, not for thy life: take up my mistress' gown for thy master's use! *Pet.* Why, sir, what's your conceit in that? *Gru.* O, sir, the conceit is deeper than you think for: take up my mistress' gown to his master's use!"

"Well, come, my Kate; we will unto your father's,
Even in these honest mean habiliments:
Our purses shall be proud, our garments poor."

"And 't will be supper-time ere you come there."

"Why, sir, I made it as your man gave me direction. You may read the note here. *Feran.* Come hither, sirrah. Tailor, read the note. *Tai.* 'Item: a fair round compassed cape.' *San.* Ay, that's true. *Tai.* 'And a large trunk sleeve.' *San.* That's a lie, master. I said two trunk sleeves. *Feran.* Well, sir, go forward. *Tai.* 'Item: a loose-bodied gown.' *San.* Master, if ever I said loose-bodied gown, sew me in a seam, and beat me to death with a bottom of brown thread. *Tai.* I made it as the note bade me. *San.* I say the note lies in his throat; and thou too, and thou say'st it."

"Go, I say, and take it up for your master's use. *San.* 'Zounds, villain, not for thy life. Touch it not. 'Zounds! Take up my mistress' gown to his master's use! *Feran.* Well, sir, what's your conceit of it? *San.* I have a deeper conceit in it than you think for. Take up my mistress' gown to his master's use!"

"Come, Kate, we now will go see thy father's house,
Even in these honest mean habiliments:
Our purses shall be rich, our garments plain."

"It will be nine o'clock ere we come there."

The common opinion has been that Shakespeare took the story of the taming of Katharine from

“A Shrew,” and that with the story he freely appropriated the language also. This view is unsatisfactory. It is hard to believe that Shakespeare borrowed from another writer unimportant prose phrases in this wholesale and slavish way. This difficult question will be taken up again in the paper concerning Shakespeare’s “Love’s Labour’s Won.”¹

If we look into the history of opinion concerning the authorship of “The Shrew,” we find that the most divergent views have been held. Pope, early in the eighteenth century, made Shakespeare the author not only of this play, but also of “A Shrew.” Dr. Warburton, near the middle of the century, considered “The Shrew” to be certainly spurious, as far as any connection with Shakespeare is concerned.²

Farmer and Steevens held less pronounced but still opposing views. Farmer supposes “The Shrew” to be “not *originally* the work of Shakespeare, but restored by him to the stage.” Shakespeare’s contribution to this restored play was the whole Induction, “and some occasional improvements, especially in the character of Petruchio.” Steevens says, on the contrary:—

“I know not to whom I could impute this comedy, if Shakespeare was not its author. I think his hand is visible in almost every scene, though perhaps not so

¹ See pp. 300 ff.

² The views of the earlier critics may be found in the *Variorum Shakespeare* of 1821, edited by Boswell and Malone.

evidently as in those which pass between Katharine and Petruchio."

The wide divergence of earlier scholars, however, is giving place to a good measure of agreement. Of later critics, White, Fleay, and Furnivall have studied the question of the authorship of "The Shrew" with substantially the same result. White says:¹ —

"In it ['The Shrew'] three hands at least are traceable: that of the author of the old play, that of Shakespeare himself, and that of a co-laborer. The first [hand, that of the author of 'A Shrew'] appears in the structure of the plot, and in the incidents and the dialogue of most of the minor scenes [this phrase is misleading. It is the *major* scenes of 'The Shrew' which especially resemble parts of 'A Shrew'] . . . ; to the last [hand, that of the co-laborer,] must be assigned the greater part of the love business between Bianca and her two suitors [Gremio and Tranio are omitted from consideration]; while to Shakespeare belong the strong, clear characterization, the delicious humor, and the rich verbal coloring of the recast Induction, and all the scenes in which Katharine and Petruchio and Grumio are the prominent figures, together with the general effect produced by scattering lines and words and phrases here and there, and removing others elsewhere, throughout the rest of the play."

The single authorship of "The Shrew" has been doubted, also, on metrical grounds. König, a careful investigator of Shakespeare's versification, obtains such contradictory results from a comparison

¹ *Shakespeare's Works*, vol. iv. (1858).

of the metrical peculiarities of "The Shrew" with those of the other plays, that he is forced to the conclusion that it cannot be entirely the work of the poet.¹

Mr. F. G. Fleay and Mr. F. J. Furnivall² have both sought to divide the Shakespearean from the non-Shakespearean parts of the play. Mr. Fleay apparently made little use of his elaborate paper "On the Authorship of the Taming of the Shrew" in determining what parts he should assign to Shakespeare. Mr. Furnivall claimed to be guided only by his sense of style. With reference to both of these attempts to determine the part of Shakespeare in this drama, there is something left to be desired.

We need a clear view of the terms on which Shakespeare and his presumed partner or partners divided their task between them. If there was some plan in the assignment of the parts to each, we may hope by careful study to find it out. Unless we can discover some such plan of procedure, our results must necessarily be so largely personal as to lose much of their value. Metrical tests and specific peculiarities of style may so far corroborate our conclusions as to make it very sure that we have divided the play into parts behind which there lurks a similiar division in the authorship. But we can-

¹ *Der Vers in Shaksperes Dramen* (Quellen und Forschungen, lxi.), p. 137.

² *Transactions New Shakspere Society*, 1874. Fleay's article was reprinted in his *Shakespeare Manual*.

not feel really satisfied with our results unless we can find out the agreement between these writers, their method of coöperation. Of course, there may have been no clear-cut division of labor ; but this is not probable. It is quite likely, however, that one of the associated authors would have the final revision of the whole piece. In this revision, he might remove, insert, or rewrite passages in the portion contributed by his partner or partners. So far as he made such alterations, the task of separating the work of the different writers would become more and more difficult. It might become impossible to do this except in a very general way.

That "The Shrew" was not written by one man at one time, that we have at least two styles here, will be evident to a careful reader. Let any one compare the opening speeches of Act I. (Scene i. 1-40), their strutting rhetoric, their solemn rehearsal of that preliminary business of the play which always clogs and embarrasses a weak writer, — with Petruchio's soliloquy (II. i. 169-82) where he discloses his plan as to the manner in which he is to woo Katharine. The first passage is swelling, vague. The servant seems to know already all that the master can ever hope to learn ; he unfolds an elaborate system of education with all the tedious, superficial wisdom of a man who knows many words but few things. The advice ends, however, with that gem, —

"In brief, sir, study what you most affect."

In these lines and the first speech of Baptista which

follows, the metrical accent falls very frequently upon unemphatic monosyllables ;¹ and the constant use of inversion gives an artificial effect.²

The first twenty-four lines of the passage described constitute the first speech of the main play : —

“ *Lucentio.* Tranio, since for the great desire I had
To see fair Padua, nursery of arts,
I am arrived for fruitful Lombardy,
The pleasant garden of great Italy ;
And by my father’s love and leave am arm’d
With his good will and thy good company,
My trusty servant, well approved in all,
Here let us breathe and haply institute
A course of learning and ingenious studies.
Pisa renownéd for grave citizens
Gave me my being and my father first,
A merchant of great traffic through the world,
Vincentio, come of the Bentivolii.
Vincentio’s son brought up in Florence
It shall become to serve all hopes conceived,
To deck his fortune with his virtuous deeds :
And therefore, Tranio, for the time I study,
Virtue and that part of philosophy
Will I apply that treats of happiness
By virtue specially to be achieved.
Tell me thy mind ; for I have Pisa left
And am to Padua come, as he that leaves
A shallow splash to plunge him in the deep
And with satiety seeks to quench his thirst.”

The Shrew, I. i. 1-24.

The second passage to which I have referred, the soliloquy of Petruchio, is clear, sharp, specific ; each noun, verb, adjective, adverb, each compari-

¹ See ll. 1, 10, 38, 50.

² See Dr. Abbott, *Transactions New Shakspeare Society*, 1874, p. 121.

son seems, so to speak, to put its finger on some feature in Petruchio's plan. Antithesis and climax are used in the easy, unforced way that marks the master. Note the contrast between these lines and those just given : —

“ *Petruchio*. . . . I will attend her here,
And woo her with some spirit when she comes.
Say that she rail ; why then I 'll tell her plain
She sings as sweetly as a nightingale :
Say that she frown ; I 'll say she looks as clear
As morning roses newly wash'd with dew :
Say she be mute and will not speak a word ;
Then I 'll commend her volubility,
And say she uttereth piercing eloquence :
If she do bid me pack, I 'll give her thanks,
As though she bid me stay by her a week :
If she deny to wed, I 'll crave the day
When I shall ask the banns and when be married.
But here she comes ; and now, *Petruchio*, speak.”
The Shrew, II. i. 169-82.

I think that we shall feel certain that these two styles belong to different authors. The writer of the first passage never by any process of growth attained unto the second.

What is the evidence that Shakespeare took part in the production of “The Shrew” ? The appearance of the play in the first and authoritative edition of his works, the Folio of 1623, furnishes a strong presumption in favor of his connection with the piece. The thoroughly Shakespearean quality of such parts as the Induction, and Scenes i. and v. of Act IV., gives to this presumption the strongest confirmation.

In searching for some clue as to the exact por-

tion of the work which comes from the hand of Shakespeare, it is natural to consider what has often been recognized as a fortunate suggestion of Collier. He said:—

“I am, however, satisfied that more than one hand (perhaps at distant dates) was concerned in it [‘*The Shrew*’], and that Shakespeare had little to do with any of the scenes in which Katharine and Petruchio are not engaged.”¹

We see this hint reappearing in White’s statement, already quoted, that “all the scenes in which Katharine and Petruchio and Grumio are the prominent figures” belong to Shakespeare. Collier, however, seems not to have followed up his suggestion, and not even to have remembered it. In his edition of Shakespeare² he simply speaks of “portions which are admitted not to be in Shakespeare’s manner.” No criterion of any sort is given us. Later in the same Introduction he gives to Shakespeare a part of the play which his own suggestion and the consenting opinion of all later investigators who admit the composite character of “*The Shrew*” would take from him.

Following Collier’s suggestion, let us look at those passages by themselves in which Katharine and Petruchio appear upon the stage together. They are the following: II. i. 183–326; III. ii. 186–241; IV. i. 123–81; IV. iii. 36–end;

¹ *History of English Dramatic Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 78, ed. 1831.

² Vol. iii. 1842.

IV. v. ; V. i. 10—end ; V. ii. 1—48, 99—105, and 121—87.¹

One of these passages, V. i. 10—end, is strictly exceptional. Petruchio and Katharine are present during this scene, but they are of no consequence in the development of the action. Their part is simply, as Petruchio expresses it, to “stand aside and see the end of this controversy.” At the close of the scene they are left upon the stage together for a moment. Petruchio demands that Kate kiss him in the street. She demurs ; but he threatens to go home again, and she obeys. The situation here is admirable ; but the few words of Petruchio and Katharine come to us largely in weak, un-Shakespearean doggerel rhyme. In all the other passages given above, Petruchio and Katharine are the central figures. This scene is entirely exceptional in this respect.

The whole ground-plan of this scene, too, is taken from “The Supposes,” and is not found in “A Shrew.” This fact establishes a presumption against the scene, since the entire story of Petruchio and Katharine is common to “A Shrew” and “The Shrew.” For every one of the other passages mentioned, there exists a scene more or less similar in “A Shrew.” We shall therefore leave out of our consideration this exceptional passage.

Let us read carefully the other parts of the play which are mentioned above, and see if they have

¹ The line-numbers are those of the Globe, Temple, and Eversley editions.

Shakespeare's style. Act II. Scene i. 183-326 seems to be his. Some of the dialogue is coarse, but Petruchio's standards of propriety are not the better ones of to-day; moreover, he is taming a shrew, and is careful not to be above his business. Kate is badly worsted. This lover who gives before a good blow, but never *gives up*, is a new thing in her experience. The longer speeches all fall to the unabashed Petruchio, and are pure Shakespeare. The device of getting Kate to walk, by pretending to have heard that she limps; her anger at being caught in this trap; his bare-faced declaration that she has been very loving to him, but that they have agreed that "she shall still be curst in company"; — these points are admirable comedy.

The above passage should be considered as beginning with line 169. This is the first line of Petruchio's soliloquy, which Kate interrupts. Here he tells us the manner in which he means to woo her. He then goes on to act out the plan before us. This soliloquy is dramatically a part of the wooing scene, and shows the same style.

The next passage, III. ii. 186-241, is not so plainly Shakespeare's, but there is nothing that is not entirely worthy of him. Kate's spirited speeches are what we expect of her. Petruchio begs the bride with such earnest, lover-like pleading not to be angry, that Gremio misunderstands his courtesy, and says, "Ay, marry, sir, now it begins to work." Petruchio next commands every

one present to obey his wife and "go forward" at her command; and then, after all possible respect has been shown to the woman of his choice, he declares his mediæval doctrine of absolute property in his wife, commands Grumio to draw his weapon ready for fight, and marches the astonished Katharine off with him. This certainly seems to come from the same writer as the scene we have been considering just before — from Shakespeare.

The whole of IV. i. seems to be by Shakespeare, and not merely the lines already indicated, 123–81. The scene is laid at Petruchio's house after the marriage; Shakespeare's fellow-author would have no occasion to go there. The first part of this scene, during which Petruchio and Katharine are not upon the stage, is wholly occupied with preparations for their appearance. The style is Shakespearean, no part of the play more so. Nothing in the whole comedy is better than Grumio's pretense that he will not complete his interrupted story: "Tell thou the tale: but hadst thou not crossed me, thou shouldst have heard how her horse fell and she under her horse;" etc. (IV. i. 74 ff.). Grumio is the one character outside of Petruchio and the shrew who has received Shakespeare's especial attention. This bustle of preparation at Petruchio's country house has a short counterpart in "A Shrew."

Act IV. Scene i. ends with a soliloquy of Petruchio in which he outlines his policy. This part is equally clear, and is present in outline in

"A Shrew." The whole scene belongs to Shakespeare.

The first 36 lines of IV. iii., where Katharine begs Grumio for meat, have a full counterpart in "A Shrew." The whole scene is acted at Petruccio's house, and it is all plainly from the hand of Shakespeare. Act IV. Scene v. is also clearly his, and is found in substance in the companion play.

We feel at first like questioning Shakespeare's authorship of V. ii. 1-48. Here the wit becomes somewhat weak. This bantering has the good result, however, that the following wager comes in very naturally, instead of being the utterly causeless thing that it is in "A Shrew." The other parts of Act V. Scene ii. that have been mentioned above are entirely worthy of Shakespeare, except the few lines of weak, doggerel rhyme at the end.

The parts of V. ii. in which Katharine is out of the room plainly belong with the rest of the scene. The first time, she is away but a few moments before being called back; the second time, Petruccio sends her to bring the disobedient ladies. She goes out in the same way in "A Shrew," and there are no breaks in the style at these points. Just before Petruchio and Katharine leave the stage for the last time, near the close of the play, we find the lines in rhymed doggerel already mentioned, with one exception, four-accent lines. We have had none of these in the passages already accepted as Shakespeare's, but they occur frequently in the other parts of the play. If we attribute nothing to

Shakespeare after this weak doggerel begins, his part will close with V. ii. 181, instead of 187. Fleay puts the end of Shakespeare's part after line 175, perhaps objecting to the rhyme which follows. Furnivall makes the division after line 180. The idea of 176-9 is present in "A Shrew" also.

The parts of "The Shrew" which we have now accepted as plainly Shakespearean are the following:—

II. i. 169-326 . . . 158 lines.	IV. iii. 198 lines.
III. ii. 186-241 . . . 56 "	IV. v. 79 "
IV. i 214 "	V. ii. 1-181 . . . 181 "
Total, 886 lines.	

Except for the disagreement as to the exact point at which the last passage should close, Fleay and Furnivall, working independently, have assigned to Shakespeare every one of the parts given in this table.

Is there anything else in "The Shrew" that should be assigned to Shakespeare? After studying the play with great care, seeking to form conclusions independent of the work of his predecessors, the writer finds occasion to add but very little to the list of parts already attributed to Shakespeare. There are *only thirty-five lines more in the entire play* which Fleay and Furnivall are agreed in assigning to Shakespeare, except as Furnivall altered his first view after receiving Fleay's table. These thirty-five lines, III. ii. 151-85, the writer cannot accept as Shakespeare's. Let us examine them.

The first thing we notice in the passage is that not one of Shakespeare's three characters, Petruchio, Katharine, and Grumio, is on the stage. The principal speaker is Gremio, a character suggested entirely by "The Supposes," where his counterpart bears the name of Cleander. We find, too, that there is no passage corresponding to this in "A Shrew." In every part assigned to Shakespeare, so far, there has been some counterpart in the companion play.

These facts are very striking. Some less important points may also be noticed. Shakespeare's plays nowhere else furnish an oath with "gogs"; although oaths are often made with "'od's." This very oath, "gogs-wouns" (line 162), has the form "'od's nouns" with Mrs. Quickly ("Merry Wives," IV. i. 25).

The long speech by Gremio (169-85) is printed as prose in the Folio of 1623. It seems to be rightly given as verse in the Globe Edition. The three-accent line in the middle of the speech is noticeable; there is nothing like it in the parts already assigned to Shakespeare; but in the non-Shakespearean parts we have similar lines in II. i. 346 and 399, and a two-accent line in I. i. 91.

The first place has been given to these considerations because they are impersonal facts, which cannot be manipulated to suit the taste and purpose of the investigator. Let us next give attention to the style and dramatic fitness of the passage; these considerations are more subjective,

more open to personal bias on the part of the critic.

The vigor and effectiveness of the language in these lines have naturally led to the belief that we have here the handiwork of the great master. The writer is unable to get the genuine Shakespearean impression from the passage, but that may be because he is prepossessed against it.

The question may be asked, Have we here Shakespeare's Petruchio at all? Shakespeare's Petruchio, in every scene of the play from the beginning to the end (if we except Grumio's humorous account of Katharine's getting stuck in the mire, IV. i. 74-86), has something of the gentleman in his bearing. Immediately after the wedding he is willing to entreat, "O Kate, content thee; prithee, be not angry" (III. ii. 217). He is careful to see to it that the Tailor is at once appeased for the hard usage to which he has been subjected (IV. iii. 166). In all Petruchio's ill-treatment of Katharine after the marriage, he keeps up a studied pretense of kindness, and by a fine irony his pretense is only a deeper truth. Some genuine manliness has been present in him at every point. Of the simply farcical we have had nothing. But here in this marriage scene (III. ii. 151-85), we have a barbarian, making light of all holy things, treating God and man with contempt; and such barbarism cannot be altogether excused by the goodness of the ultimate purpose. I believe that this spirited bit is given us by the same writer

who describes Petruchio's horse as a traveling collection of equine ailments (III. ii. 49 ff.) ; that is, by Shakespeare's gifted co-laborer.

It is in favor of the genuineness of this passage that it comes immediately before a part which is plainly Shakespeare's. It is easy to think of him as writing a telling introduction to the few lines which fell to him here according to plan. The writer cannot regard the part as his, however, for the reasons that have been given.

After seeing Fleay's table, Furnivall was willing to assign to Shakespeare III. ii. 1-125, but had not before done so. The passage has a full counterpart in "A Shrew." Katharine is present at the beginning of the scene. Petruchio and Grumio appear together after line 88.

One is not impressed very clearly either that the opening lines of this scene are Shakespeare's or that they are not. There is one little fact that deserves attention. The form *appoint* occurs in Shakespeare's dramas thirteen times ; *appointed*, twenty-nine times ; but *'point* occurs only here (III. ii. 15) ; *'pointed*, only here (line 1) and in the preceding scene (III. i. 19). The preceding scene is confessedly non-Shakespearean. Moreover, the non-Shakespearean parts of this play show some peculiar abbreviations. Notice *'cerns* for *concerns* (V. i. 77) and *'leges* for *alleges* (I. ii. 28). Different forms of *to concern* occur in the Concordance forty-eight times ; but there is no other abbreviation like this. Forms of *to allege* occur three times ; such a

contraction comes only here. ' *Longeth* for *belongeth* (IV. ii. 45 and IV. iv. 7) cannot be cited, as this verb is often contracted. It is easy to give too much weight to arguments of this kind; but on the whole, the writer cannot think that these opening lines are Shakespeare's.

The next striking feature of this scene was doubted by Mr. Furnivall from the first. He says concerning Biondello's description of Petruchio's horse, "Was that cattle-disease book's catalogue of the horse's ailments his [Shakespeare's], fond as he is of a list of names or qualities? [Cp. I. ii. 81.] Was this one up to his level?"¹ So far, we have not found that Shakespeare has anything to do with Biondello.

The same character, Biondello, soon makes another speech that is questionable. It consists of five two-accent lines of rhymed doggerel (III. ii. 84-8). These may be quoted from a ballad, as Collier suggests, but such a piece of barren dialectics does not acquire any significance or fitness because of being quoted. This sort of verse does not come in the parts of the play that we have assigned to Shakespeare. Biondello talks in similar fashion again in "and so may you, sir; and so, adieu, sir" (IV. iv. 101-2). A third passage, printed as prose in the Globe Edition, is Grumio's "Knock you here, sir! why, sir, what am I, sir, that I should knock you here, sir?" (I. ii. 9-10). The writer would give none of these parts to Shake-

¹ *Transactions New Shakspere Society*, 1874, p. 105.

speare. Grumio's words, "Now were I not a little pot and soon hot," etc., stand on a different footing (IV. i. 5-6). This rhyming proverb is still current in the mouths of Englishmen, and it is thoroughly woven into the prose of Grumio's speech.

The lines which follow the entrance of Petruchio and Grumio (89-125) do make a decidedly Shakespearean impression upon one. It seems as if the master may have written these speeches for his favorite Petruchio. A passage of thirty-two lines in "A Shrew" shows the same situation that is found here; in some respects the two plays are closely parallel in these portions. These lines in "The Shrew" may be accepted as Shakespeare's.

Before noticing that Furnivall had proposed the same question, the writer found himself obliged to ask whether II. i. 115-68 should not be given to Shakespeare. At the beginning of the passage, Petruchio asks Baptista, point-blank, upon what terms he can have Katharine for his wife. A somewhat similar conference between the corresponding characters, Ferando and Alfonso, comes in "A Shrew," but they refer to a previous agreement. Then comes Hortensio's frightened account of his treatment by the shrew while trying to give her a music lesson. This incident, which is here narrated, is directly presented in "A Shrew" in a full scene. The style of these fifty-four lines is distinctly Shakespearean. Observe:—

"Signior Baptista, my business asketh haste,
And every day I cannot come to woo."

LI. 115-6.

"I did but tell her she mistook her frets,
 And bow'd her hand to teach her fingering ;
 When, with a most impatient devilish spirit,
 'Frets, call you these ? ' quoth she ; ' I 'll fume with them : '
 And, with that word, she struck me on the head,

 While she did call me rascal fiddler
 And twangling Jack ; with twenty such vile terms,
 As had she studied to misuse me so."

LL. 150-60.

Line 159 recalls Portia's "A thousand raw tricks of these bragging Jacks."¹

It is in favor of these lines that they immediately precede a passage which has already been confidently assigned to Shakespeare. It is easy to think of him as writing this introduction to the part which fell to him at this point according to the plan of authorship. Let us add this passage to the others that have been attributed to Shakespeare.

There are no other passages which have any good claim to be considered as Shakespeare's.

The following table shows in a convenient form how all the parts of "The Taming of the Shrew" have been assigned.

Shakespeare.	Induction, i. and ii.	
Non-Shakespearean.	I. i. ; I. ii. ; II. i. 1-114	
Shakespeare.	II. i. 115-326	
Non-Shakespearean.	II. i. 327-413 ; III. i. ; III. ii. 1-88	
Shakespeare.	III. ii. 89-125	III. ii. 186-241
Non-Shakespearean.	III. ii. 126-85	
Shakespeare.	IV. i.	IV. iii.
Non-Shakespearean.	III. ii. 242-54	IV. ii. IV. iv.
Shakespeare.	IV. v.	V. ii. 1-181
Non-Shakespearean	V. i.	V. ii. 182-9.

¹ *Merchant of Venice*, III. iv. 77.

In the next table are given those parts of "The Shrew" which either Fleay, Furnivall, or the writer assigns to Shakespeare, but in reference to which their views do not agree.

Fleay.	Furnivall. Before seeing Fleay's table.	Furnivall. After seeing Fleay's table.	Tolman.
	Induction. II. i. 115-168 (?).	Induction. II. i. 115-168 (?). (See Leopold Shaks.)	Induction. II. i. 115-168.
III. ii. 1-129. III. ii. 151-185.	III. ii. 151-185.	III. ii. 1-125. III. ii. 151-185.	III. ii. 89-125.

It now remains to go through the play and determine what lines, half lines, phrases, and "slight touches" which may seem worthy of Shakespeare actually come from him. But the power to make such a division, possessed by some critics of Shakespeare, has been denied to the writer. This faculty deserves to rank not far below the power of prophecy or the gift of tongues. It has, however, one disadvantage. After its possessor has once determined intuitively all the Shakespearean "touches" in a play, there is no known method by which he can secure the acceptance of his views on the part of a doubting, and, it may be, a scoffing world.

Let us now consider the Induction of "The Taming of the Shrew."

Farmer, who thinks that the body of the play can have only "occasional improvements" from the hand of Shakespeare, is careful to say that the

"whole Induction" is by him, and that it is in his "best manner." Later critics have acquiesced in this view concerning the Induction, so far as I know, until we come to Mr. Fleay. His rejection of the Induction, doubtful when first made, is very decided in his "Shakespeare Manual" (1878).

In Furnivall's comments upon Fleay's original paper we find the following effectual words:—

"That Shakspeare's hand is clearly seen in the re-tought Induction, even in its opening lines, seems to me impossible to deny. The bits about the hounds, the Warwickshire places, Sly's talk, the music, pictures, &c., are Shakspeare to the life. With Mr. Grant White,¹ I claim the whole for him."

The Induction of "The Shrew" is very similar in plan to that of "A Shrew." In the other Shakespearean parts of "The Shrew," however, we constantly meet phrases and lines which are found in "A Shrew" in almost the same form. In the Induction Shakespeare seems to have performed his task with especial love; one mark of this is the great length, comparatively, of this part in "The Shrew." In some respects the plot of this Induction is superior to that of the corresponding portion of "A Shrew." There is also a more complete difference of language than we find elsewhere in "The Shrew." Something like three full lines, and enough phrases to make four lines more out of a total of 285 lines, agree very exactly with the language of the Induction of "A Shrew." We

¹ For the passage from White, see p. 213.

do not know, however, that "A Shrew" is the original of "The Shrew."

Since Shakespeare's authorship of the Induction of "The Shrew" has been doubted, though I cannot understand upon what grounds, it may be well to give a few passages, mostly from the undoubted plays, which bear some clear resemblance to parts of the Induction.

Ind. i. 42. — "Believe me, lord, I think he cannot choose."

Tem. I. ii. 186. — "And give it way: I know thou canst not choose."

Ind. i. 51. — "To make a dulcet and a heavenly sound."
A M.-N. Dream, II. i. 151. — "Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath."

Ind. i. 68. — "If it be husbanded with modesty."

Ham. III. ii. 21. — ". . . o'erstep not the modesty of nature."

Ind. i. 83. — Hamlet reminds the players in the same way of a play in which he once saw them act.

See *Ham. II. ii.* 454 ff.

Ind. i. 101. — "Were he the veriest antic in the world."

I. Hy. IV. I. ii. 68-9. — ". . . the rusty curb of old father antic the law."

Ind. i. 106. — "And see him dressed in all suits like a lady."

A. Y. L. I. I. iii. 118. — "That I did suit me all points like a man."

Ind. i. 128. — "Shall in despite enforce a watery eye."

A M.-N. D. III. i. 203. — "The moon methinks looks with a watery eye."

Ind. ii. 33. — "Call home thy ancient thoughts from banishment."

Rich. II. I. iii. 212. — "Return with welcome home from banishment."

Rich. II. I. iv. 21. — "When time shall call him home from banishment."

Ind. ii. 36. — "Each in his office ready at thy beck."

Ham. III. i. 127-8. — ". . . with more offences at my beck than I have thoughts to put them in."

Ind. ii. 38. — "And twenty caged nightingales do sing."

The Shrew, II. i. 172. — "She sings as sweetly as a nightingale."

Ind. ii. 47. — "Thy hounds shall make the welkin answer them

And fetch shrill echoes from the hollow earth."

A. M.-N. D. IV. i. 115. — "And mark the musical confusion

Of hounds and echo in conjunction.

.

The skies, the fountains, every region near

Seem'd all one mutual cry."

Ind. ii. 53. — "And Cytherea all in sedges hid."

W. Tale, IV. iv. 120. — ". . . violets dim,

But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes

Or Cytherea's breath."

The epithet in the following passage seems full of Shakespearean force: —

Ind. ii. 64. — "Thou hast a lady far more beautiful

Than any woman in this *waning* age."

But the same phrase "waning age," in *II. i.* 403, is not Shakespeare's.

“ . . . your father were a fool
 To give thee all, and in his waning age
 Set foot under thy table.”

Shakespeare's task seems to have been, in a word, to write the Induction and the actual taming of Katharine by Petruchio. His associate took the task of furnishing a subordinate plot which should serve as a setting for this main action. The suggestions for this subordinate action were taken from “The Supposes.”

Let us now look for any peculiarities in the language of “The Shrew” which may serve to confirm our results or to call them in question.

The contractions, *'point*, *'pointed*, *'cerns*, and *'leges*, which occur only in this play, have already been mentioned.¹

The doubtful character of arguments drawn from words which occur only in a single play has been pointed out by Mr. R. Simpson.² It seems strange that the following words occur in the genuine parts of this play, and nowhere else in Shakespeare: *jugs* (Ind. ii. 90), *undress* (Ind. ii. 119), *mother-wit* (II. i. 265), *incredible* (II. i. 308), *tripe* (IV. iii. 20), *frolic* (as verb, IV. iii. 184). We can only console ourselves with the thought, “It is a part of probability that a great many improbable things will happen.” On the whole, the words occurring in the non-Shakespearean parts of this play and not in the other plays seem to be more striking still. Some of

¹ See p. 226.

² *Transactions New Shakspere Society*, 1874, p. 114.

them are : *plash* (I. i. 23), *stoics* (I. i. 31), *metaphysics* (I. i. 37), *longly* (=longingly, I. i. 170), *trance* (I. i. 182), *trot* (=old hag, I. ii. 80), *seen* (=versed, educated, I. ii. 134), *clang* (I. ii. 207), *contrive* (=spend, wear out, I. ii. 276), *pithy* (III. i. 68), *slit* (V. i. 134). Especially deserving of attention are the following words, inasmuch as they occur *more than once* in the non-Shakespearean portions of this play, and not at all in the other plays : *specially* (I. i. 20 and 121), *mathematics* (I. i. 37; II. i. 56 and 82), *dough* (I. i. 110 and V. i. 145), *wish* (=recommend, I. i. 113; I. ii. 60 and 64), *gamut* (III. i. 67, 71, 72, 73, 79). Schmidt's Lexicon gives nineteen cases of the form *especially*. The word constantly used by Shakespeare in the meaning of *to recommend* is the simple verb *to commend*.

This treacherous argument seems to have some force in favor of our general division of the play, but is of no use in confirming the details of that work.

The word *agreement* occurs four times in the plays ; once in "I. Henry IV." (I. iii. 103), and three times in the non-Shakespearean parts of "The Shrew" (I. ii. 183 and IV. iv. 33 and 50). The accent is peculiar in

"No worse than I upon some *agreement*."

IV. iv. 33.

Act I. Scene ii. (not by Shakespeare) shows a striking jumble of prose, doggerel rhyme, and blank verse.

One line of the play requires especial attention, —

“ *For to supply the places at the table.*”

III. ii. 249.

Richard Grant White says, “Shakespeare and Marlowe never use this uncouth old idiom [*for to*] which, though found in some of the literature of their day, seems even then to have been thought inelegant.”¹ Schmidt’s *Lexicon* enables us to correct White at this point. There are at least eight other cases of *for to* in the thirty-seven plays usually printed as Shakespeare’s.² However, this line, “*For to supply the places at the table,*” perhaps deserves some suspicion.

“The frequent stress laid upon unemphatic syllables” and the fondness for inversion, which Dr. Abbott notes in the opening lines of the play,³ reappear in the other non-Shakespearean parts of the play. Note the following passages: —

“But to her love concerneth us to add
Her father’s liking: which to bring to pass,
As I before imparted to your worship,
I am to get a man, — whate’er he be,
It skills not much, we ’ll fit him to our turn, —
And he shall be Vincentio of Pisa.”

III. ii. 130-5.

“And, for the good report I hear of you
And for the love he beareth to your daughter
And she to him, to stay him not too long,

¹ Shakespeare’s Works, vol. vii. (1859), p. 431, *Essay on the Authorship of Henry VI.*

² The new third edition of Schmidt does not cite Hamlet, V. i. 104.

³ *Transactions New Shakspeare Society*, 1874, p. 121.

I am content, in a good father's care,
 To have him match'd; and if you please to like
 No worse than I, upon some agreement
 Me shall you find ready and willing
 With one consent to have her so bestow'd;
 For curious I cannot be with you,
 Signior Baptista, of whom I hear so well."

IV. iv. 23-37.

The frequency of Latin and Italian quotations in this play is noticeable. These all come in the non-Shakespearean parts. The length of the Italian quotations is striking. See especially Act I. Scene ii. Sly's blundering "*paucas pallabris*" (Ind. i. 5) happens to be from the Spanish (for "*pocas palabras*"); and it has no smack of pedantry or false realism on the part of the author.

The great number of classical and learned allusions in the non-Shakespearean parts of "*The Shrew*" has attracted attention. Though one part of the Induction, too, is filled with names taken from classical mythology, yet the especial fitness of these "*wanton pictures*" is noticeable.

The metrical differences between the Shakespearean and non-Shakespearean parts of the play are very striking — much more convincing, of course, than they could be if we had made them the principal consideration in dividing up the play. Where we have made any peculiarity a ground for rejecting a passage, as in III. ii. 84-8, it would be reasoning in a circle to look upon the table as giving any confirmation to our view, except as we omit from the table the passage in dispute. In pre-

paring these figures, the Globe text of "The Shrew" has been followed. Only totals are here given.¹

	Total lines.	Prose lines.	Verse lines.	Heroic lines (5-beat).	Unstopt heroic lines.	Heroic lines, feminine endings.	Rhyme.	Doggerel.	Short verse lines, not whole speeches.	Short verse lines, whole speeches.	Alexandrines.
Shakespearean.	1262	241	1021	960	33	187	30	0	31	26	4
Non-Shakespearean.	1387	345	1042	935	68	167	124	46	36	15	10

The most striking fact about the table is that Shakespeare's associate has all of the doggerel and more than four fifths of the rhyme.

I will call especial attention, farther, only to the run-on lines. König,² in his discussion of *Enjambement* in Shakespeare, shows very clearly that many factors come into play here, and that it is impossible to make a sharp division of the heroic lines in a play into two distinct classes, "stopt" and "unstopt." Lines have here been reckoned as "stopt" whenever possible, *i. e.* whenever it seems at all natural to read a line in such a way as to give a clear pause at the end. Hence the total falls below those of Furnivall and König. Furnivall finds 121 "unstopt" lines in the play, out of 1930 five-beat

¹ The great difference between the number of "feminine endings" in this table (354) and the total number of "double endings" as given in the *Leopold Shakspeare* (260) may be due partly to the fact that many endings in Shakespeare's use have sometimes the value of two syllables and sometimes that of one syllable.

² *Der Vers in Shaksperes Dramen* (Quellen und Forschungen, lxi.), p. 97.

verses (6.3 per cent.). The present writer finds 101 such lines out of 1895 (5.3 per cent.). König finds 8.1 per cent. As Furnivall has already pointed out, the associate uses these lines much more freely than Shakespeare.

Fleay's elaborate discussion of the authorship of "The Shrew" ¹ is very unsatisfactory. After giving specimens of six classes of metrical peculiarities in this play, he says, "These peculiarities of metre are enough of themselves to show that the greater part of this play is not Shakspeare's." He then adds a seventh peculiarity, "the frequent contraction of the word 'Gentlemen' into 'Gent'men.' " He gives eight specimens under his first class, but *six of them come in the parts of the play which he afterwards assigns to Shakespeare* (see Furnivall's comment). Of a second peculiarity, he gives eleven specimens, afterwards assigning four of them to Shakespeare. Many of the lines given under his third class seem to belong elsewhere.² Of the seven that I can read as Fleay does, he afterwards gives four to Shakespeare. The five lines in his fourth class can easily be read in a different manner, and probably should be. One of them is afterwards given to Shakespeare. The fifth class is composed of "the doggerel lines, chiefly of four measures in each line." Fleay's statement, "Lines like these of four measures occur nowhere else in Shake-

¹ *Transactions New Shakspere Society*, 1874, and *Shakespeare Manual*.

² See König, p. 84.

speare," is simply amazing. In Act III. Scene i. of "The Comedy of Errors," Fleay can find a hatful of such lines. They occur, also, in other plays.¹ Of Fleay's sixth class of peculiarities, Shakespeare finally gets more than the associate. König finds the use of *gentleman* as equivalent to two syllables to be a frequent thing throughout the dramas.²

At the close of his paper Fleay gives typical passages illustrating the different styles to be found in this play. Here he questions Shakespeare's authorship of that peculiar and significant feature of "The Shrew," the scolding speech of Petruchio in IV. iii., beginning "O monstrous arrogance!" He takes away from Shakespeare another passage in the same scene. These passages have already been unquestioningly attributed to the poet in Fleay's own table.

There are some differences between the various non-Shakespearean parts of "The Shrew" which suggest the possibility that Shakespeare had more than one helper in the production of this play. The strutting rhetoric of the opening speeches does not again appear. The situations of Act I. are also found in "A Shrew." Otherwise the non-Shakespearean parts borrow especially from "The Supposes." A large number of the peculiar words already noticed as occurring in "The Shrew" and not in other plays of the First Folio,³ appear in this act. But we have seen that "the frequent stress laid upon unemphatic syllables" and the

¹ See König, p. 120.

² Page 35.

³ See p. 235.

fondness for inversion are common both to the non-Shakespearean parts which come earlier in the play and to the later ones.¹ The differences between the various non-Shakespearean portions do not seem greater, on the whole, than those which may well mark different portions of the work of one author.

Upon what terms did Shakespeare and his helper divide their work between them?

Shakespeare wrote, as we believe, the Induction and the core of the main play, the actual taming of the shrew, giving practically his entire attention to but three characters, — Petruchio, Katharine, and Grumio. We naturally conjecture that he wrote his part first, and then handed it over to the associate for completion, but of this we cannot be sure. The associate contributed the subordinate plot, the contest for the hand of Bianca. The suggestions for this story came from "The Supposes."

The question to what dramatic type "The Taming of the Shrew" belongs is an interesting one. Where shall this play be classified among the works of its author? Mr. Furnivall has called it a farce; and Mr. Ellis said flatly, "This play is an outrageous farce, and that must be fully borne in mind."² This term the present writer cannot accept. Undoubtedly the story of the shrew attracted Shakespeare primarily by the fun and the go in it, by its many humorous situations, by all its fullness

¹ See p. 236.

² *Transactions New Shakspere Society*, 1874, pp. 110 and 119.

of dramatic life. But a prime difference between Shakespeare and other playwrights was that he found it easy and natural to minister to men's minds and hearts at the same time that he was convulsing them with laughter and filling his own pockets. The story of the shrew naturally tempted to a farcical treatment; and the fact that Petruchio decides before he has yet seen her to woo Katharine makes us unprepared for the genuine and wise affection that he afterward displays. Judging him by the standards of Shakespeare's age — standards which still have their belated advocates — and judging him by the requirements which Katharine's character puts upon him, Petruchio's conduct, broadly speaking, is noble and thoroughly wise. This wise love, finally, in one victory, saves him from the shrew and the shrew from herself. This salvation of the nobler Katharine is the central action of the play; and such a play is no farce. This opinion will be challenged by many, and it may need some modification. Perhaps the final judgment will not vary much from that expressed in the following careful words of Professor Dowden: ¹ —

“The Katharine and Petruchio scenes border upon the farcical, but Shakspeare's interest in the characters of the Shrew and her tamer keep these scenes from passing into downright farce.”

¹ *Shakspeare Primer*, p. 102.

SHAKESPEARE'S
"LOVE'S LABOUR'S WON"

SHAKESPEARE'S "LOVE'S LABOUR'S WON"¹

IN 1598 a volume appeared which furnishes perhaps the most important single piece of evidence that we have concerning the reputation that Shakespeare's writings enjoyed among the men of his own day. This book, "*Palladis Tamia. | WITS TREASVRY | Being the Second part | of Wits Common | wealth*,"² was written by Francis Meres, "Maister of Artes of both Universities." The portion which especially interests us is a sketch, or short treatise, which comes near the end of the work, and bears the title "A comparatiue discourse of our English Poets, with the Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets." "Wytts Treasury," as it is called in the "Stationers' Register," was entered at Stationers' Hall on the 7th of September, 1598. Halliwell-Phillipps thinks that the sketch that concerns us, the "comparatiue discourse," was surely written in the summer of 1598, since it contains a notice

¹ Reprinted from *The Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, First Series, vol. vii. pp. 159-90, where it had the title "What Has Become of Shakespeare's Play 'Love's Labour's Won'?" The bibliographical notes have here been much abbreviated.

² C. M. Ingleby, *Shakspeare Allusion-Books*, Part I. (London, 1874), p. 151.

of the book of satires by Marston which was registered on the 27th of the preceding May as "The Metamorphosis of Pigmaliions Image, and Satyres."¹ We cannot be entirely certain about this, however. Meres was so exceptionally well acquainted with the literary productions of his day that he mentions certain works which were not printed until some years after the appearance of his own book, and some others which are not known to have been printed at all. Indeed, one of his references to Shakespeare is to those "sugred Sonnets among his priuate friends" that were not published until eleven years later — and are not explained yet.

Attention was called to Meres's book by Thomas Percy in 1765,² and more fully by Thomas Tyrwhitt in 1766.³

In the elaborate sentences in which Meres sets Elizabethan over against ancient writers, Shakespeare is mentioned by name nine times. Also, when Meres speaks of "these declining and corrupt times, when there is nothing but rogerie in villanous man,"⁴ he is certainly quoting Falstaff's utterance: "There is nothing but roguery to be found in villanous man" (I. Henry IV. II. iv. 137, 138).

¹ Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, 10th ed. (London, 1898), vol. ii. pp. 148, 149; Arber, *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, vol. iii. p. 116.

² *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, vol. i. p. 191, in remarks upon the ballad *Gernutus the Jew of Venice*.

³ *Observations and Conjectures upon Some Passages of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1766), pp. 15, 16.

⁴ *Shakspeare Allusion-Books*, Part I. p. 159.

We shall look now at three of the passages which contain Shakespeare's name ; the other six will be cited later.¹

"As the soule of *Euphorbus* was thought to liue in *Pythagoras* : so the sweete wittie soule of *Ouid* liues in mellifluous & hony-tongued *Shakespeare*, witnes his *Venus* and *Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugred Sonnets among his priuate friends, &c.

"As *Plautus* and *Seneca* are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines : so *Shakespeare* among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage ; for Comedy, witnes his *Gentlemen of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Loue labors lost*, his *Loue labours wonne*, his *Midsummers night dreame*, & his *Merchant of Venice* : for Tragedy his *Richard the 2.* *Richard the 3.* *Henry the 4.* *King John*, *Titus Andronicus* and his *Romeo and Iuliet*.

"As *Epius Stolo* said, that the Muses would speake with *Plautus* tongue, if they would speak Latin : so I say that the Muses would speak with *Shakespeares* fine filed phrase, if they would speake English."

It seems clear that Meres classifies all the dramas of Shakespeare as either comedies or tragedies. Undoubtedly, also, any play is to him a tragedy in which an important character dies. Thus it happens that two plays, the first and second parts of "Henry IV.," which present at his best the greatest comic figure in all literature, Falstaff, are together referred to as a tragedy, *Henry the 4.*

¹ The entire "comparatiue discourse," with several preceding pages, is printed in *Shakspere Allusion-Books*, Part I., edited by C. M. Ingleby, published for the New Shakspere Society (London, 1874), pp. 151-67.

No play has come down to us bearing the name *Loue labours wonne*. What play did Meres have in mind when he used this title?

Of course it is possible that this drama has been lost; though students of Shakespeare have not generally considered this likely.

If "Love's Labour's Won"¹ has not disappeared, the name must belong in some way to one of the plays now in our possession. The reference in Meres may represent one of two titles which were in use at the same time, both applying to some drama that we now have, and to the form in which we have it. There are two dramas in the First Folio edition of Shakespeare's plays to which double titles are given in the table of contents and in the page headings: "Twelke Night, or, What you will," and "Othello, the Moore of Venice." The second of these is practically a double title; the earliest known reference to the play (by Wurmsser von Vendenheym, in 1610) calls it "l'histoire du More de Venise."²

On the opening page of each of five historical plays in the Folio, an elongated title appears, though not in the table of contents or in the ordinary page headings. These full designations are: "The First Part of Henry the Fourth, with the Life and Death of Henry Sirnamed Hot-spurre"; "The Second Part

¹ The question of the proper form and interpretation of the titles *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Love's Labour's Won*, will be considered in full under the discussion of *Much Ado About Nothing*. See pp. 283-90.

² *Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse*, 2d ed. (London, 1879), p. 93.

of Henry the Fourth, Containing his Death : and the Coronation of King Henry the Fift ” ; “ The second Part of Henry the Sixt, with the death of the Good Duke Humfrey ” ; “ The third Part of Henry the Sixt, with the death of the Duke of Yorke ” ; “ The Tragedy of Richard the Third : with the Landing of Earle Richmond, and the Battell at Bosworth Field.” These long appellations may fairly be classed with double titles.

Mr. H. P. Stokes thinks the evidence conclusive that the following plays of Shakespeare, in addition to “ Othello ” and “ Twelfth Night,” were each “ (generally or occasionally) known by [two] different names : ” “ the *Merchant of Venice*, or the ‘ Jew of Venice ’ ; *Merry Wives of Windsor*, or ‘ Sir John Falstaff ’ ; *1 Henry IV.*, or ‘ Hotspur ’ ; *Henry V.*, or ‘ Agincourt ’ ; *2 and 3 Henry VI.*, or ‘ York and Lancaster,’ &c. ; *Henry VIII.*, or ‘ All is True ’ ; *Much Ado*, &c., or ‘ Benedick and Beatrice ’ ; *Julius Cæsar*, or ‘ Cæsar’s Tragedy.’ ”¹

Another possibility is that some play of Shakespeare now in existence represents the revised form of the earlier play known as “ Love’s Labour’s Won.” In this case the probability would be that the title “ Love’s Labour’s Won ” was dropped, and the present name given to the new form at the time of the revision. It is so probable as to be almost certain that the play which appears in the page headings of the First Folio as “ The second

¹ *Chronological Order of Shakespeare’s Plays* (London, 1878), p. 110, note.

Part of Henry the Sixt" received this name when the play took its present shape. The former title, "The First part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster," etc., appears on the title-page of the older version, first printed in 1594, out of which, with many alterations and additions, the play in the Folio was made. The play sometimes given in the page headings of the Folio as "The third Part of Henry the Sixt," sometimes as "The third Part of King Henry the Sixt," bears a similar relation to the supposedly older play "The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke," etc., printed 1595. Whether in these two cases Shakespeare wrote any portion of the older plays is a question upon which scholars are not agreed. But this difference of opinion concerning the origin of two dramas in the Shakespearean canon is enough to suggest the possibility that some comedy of Shakespeare that we now have may have been known in an earlier version as "Love's Labour's Won."

It is also possible that "Love's Labour's Won" received a new name without undergoing any change of form. If such were the case, we may presume that this new title commended itself as an improvement upon the old.

The following, then, would seem to be the possible explanations why no play has come down to us with the title "Love's Labour's Won": first, the play so designated is no longer extant; second, it once bore a double title, and the name by which

we now know it is only a portion of its former full appellation ; third, the change of the name " Love's Labour's Won " to that which now designates some one of the comedies that we know, was connected in some way with a revision of the play ; fourth, the title was changed for some other reason, presumably to secure one that was more appropriate.

Let us assume that " Love's Labour's Won " has come down to us in some form ; and let us bear in mind the fact that no positive evidence connects this title with any particular comedy of Shakespeare. What conditions, then, ought one of the comedies to satisfy, and what characteristics ought it to possess, if it is to establish as good a claim as possible, in the absence of definite external evidence, to be identified with Meres's *Loue labours wonne* ?

A first requirement seems to be that the comedy selected shall not appear by name in Meres's list. Strangely enough, however, two of the solutions that have been proposed identify " Love's Labour's Won " respectively with " Love's Labour's Lost " and " A Midsummer-Night's Dream," though both of these plays are mentioned by Meres. There is an evident presumption against these views.

A second requirement is, of course, that any comedy which is to represent " Love's Labour's Won " must have been in existence in some form as early as 1598. In the absence of definite external testimony, a great variety of evidence bearing upon the probable date of a particular play may need to be considered.

That the title "Love's Labour's Won" should aptly designate the course of the action in the play which we suppose to have been thus named, seems to be a third reasonable requirement. It is not entirely clear, however, that we have a right to expect that the name in question shall apply with peculiar fitness. The companion play, "Love's Labour's Lost," is not very happily named. Tieck recognized this by giving to the German translation the title "Liebes Leid und Lust." It may seem probable, just for this reason, that the other of the two parallel designations was peculiarly apt. But even if we were to accept this inconclusive argument as sound, we should not be greatly helped, since the phrase "Love's Labour's Won" is almost a formula for the action of a romantic comedy. We may almost exalt it to a class name and speak of the love's-labour's-won comedies. Few good English comedies would fail to be included in this class. Says Furness:—

"Under *Love labours wonne*, I suppose he [Meres] may have had in mind any one of several Comedies, wherein the labours of love were successful, as they generally are in all Comedies."¹

The similarity of the names "Love's Labour's Lost" and "Love's Labour's Won" leads us to expect parallelisms and correspondences between the plays themselves. Considerations of this nature may be of some service in testing the claim of any

¹ Preface to Variorum edition of *Much Ado About Nothing* (Philadelphia, 1899), p. xiv.

comedy to be accepted as having once borne the second of these designations.

Just how far the two plays may fairly be expected to correspond in structure it is hard to say. The dramatist is so dependent upon the nature of his material that a very high degree of structural agreement, or similarity, even between two companion pieces, is hardly to be looked for. Still, some correspondence of action to action, feature to feature, and character to character, would be probable.

We should expect the two companion plays to be similar in style and versification. Especially should we expect them to agree in tone, in spirit and mental attitude, in the mood which produced them and the mood which they produce. As one expression of this, about the same proportion of jest and earnest would probably appear in each.

It seems probable, also, that the play referred to by Meres, if compared with "*Love's Labour's Lost*," would show many detailed similarities of thought and expression.

We have thus mentioned seven criteria, of various degrees of cogency, by which we may test the proposal to accept any particular comedy of Shakespeare as "*Love's Labour's Won*" under another name. To summarize these seven points in a few words, we may call them: absence from Meres's list, date, aptness of Meres's title, similarity to "*Love's Labour's Lost*" in structure, in style and versification, in tone, in details of thought and

language. In treating each separate theory that we take up, it will usually be sufficient to refer to only those topics, or tests, among the seven just mentioned, under which definite evidence is presented.

The various theories which have been advanced concerning "Love's Labour's Won" will be considered in the following order:—

- I. That "Love's Labour's Won" has been lost.
- II. That it is to be identified with "Love's Labour's Lost."
- III. With "A Midsummer-Night's Dream."
- IV. With "The Tempest."
- V. With "All's Well That Ends Well."
- VI. With "Much Ado About Nothing."
- VII. With "The Taming of the Shrew."

It will be useful to have before us also the chronological order in which these theories were made public. So far as the writer can determine, the above views were put forth in the following succession:¹—

1. "All's Well"; proposed by Farmer in 1767.
2. "The Tempest"; by Hunter, 1839.
3. "Love's Labour's Lost"; by a writer in "The Quarterly Review," 1840.
4. That "Love's Labour's Won" has been lost; proposed by the same Quarterly Reviewer, as an alternative solution, 1840.

¹ References will be given later under the separate theories.

5. "The Taming of the Shrew"; by Craik, 1857.
6. "Much Ado About Nothing"; by Brae, 1860.
7. "A Midsummer-Night's Dream"; by von Westenholz, 1902.

As might be expected, many believe that the question will never admit of any fairly decisive settlement unless new evidence bearing upon it shall come to light. This inability to form any decided opinion may perhaps be said to constitute an eighth answer to the problem ; but it has seemed best not to classify and treat this together with the seven more positive theories. The statements of some who hold this opinion against opinions, or incline toward it, will be noted at the close of the paper.

1. THE VIEW THAT THE PLAY CALLED "LOVE'S LABOUR'S WON" HAS BEEN LOST

A writer in the "Quarterly Review" is the sole representative of the theory concerning "Love's Labour's Won" which is to be discussed in the next division of this paper.¹ As an alternative to that theory, however, he considers the view that the play in question has been lost, to have much probability. In opposing Hunter's advocacy of "The Tempest" as the play sought for, he says : —

"Why should Mr. Hunter think it improbable that a play of Shakespeare's should be lost? Surely, in the troubled times of the fanatical and anti-theatrical generation which succeeded him, it was much more probable

¹ Pages 257-62.

that, unless published immediately after his death, any work of our immortal dramatist's should be destroyed than preserved." ¹

Halliwell-Phillipps expresses the opinion that our play may have entirely disappeared. His words are : —

“ ‘Love Labors Won,’ a production which is nowhere else alluded to, is one of the numerous works of that time which have long since perished, unless its graceful appellation be the original or a secondary title of some other comedy.” ²

In his recent “Introduction to Shakespeare” Professor Dowden puts the matter thus : —

“The ‘Love’s Labour’s Won,’ which Meres names, may be a lost play of Shakespeare, or possibly, as has been conjectured, ‘All’s Well that Ends Well,’ in an earlier form may have borne this title.” ³

The fact that Fletcher’s comedy “The Wild-Goose Chase” had been “long lost” when the Folio edition of Beaumont and Fletcher appeared in 1647, might be thought to support the hypothesis now before us concerning “Love’s Labour’s Won.” But the publisher in his address to the readers lamented the absence of “The Wild-Goose Chase” as the only omission in his volume. Moreover, the play was soon recovered, and was published in 1652. ⁴

¹ *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxx. (1840), p. 481.

² *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, 10th ed. (London, 1898), vol. i. p. 172.

³ London and New York, no date, p. 30.

⁴ Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, vol. ii. 2d ed. (London, 1899), p. 707.

We should note, however, that there is no early mention of "All 's Well that Ends Well," or allusion to it,¹ also that the only supposed early reference to "Measure for Measure" is one that we could not possibly recognize if we did not possess the text.² It is not impossible that an early comedy of Shakespeare should so far disappear from men's knowledge that the only trace to reach us should be the mention of the title by a single writer. We cannot be sure that no early and relatively unimportant play of Shakespeare had disappeared, simply because the editors of the Folio said nothing about any such loss.

II. "LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST"

The Quarterly Reviewer whose article has been noticed in the previous section offers also the following suggestion : —

"May not 'Love's Labours Won' be the second part of the title of 'Love's Labours Lost'? The passage in Meres, where the names immediately follow each other, would seem to countenance such a conjecture; and the story of the comedy would fully bear it out. In it 'Love's Labours' — comic labours — are both *lost* and *won*: *lost*, because they led to a year of penance; and *won*, because, at the end of that year, they were to receive their reward."

The fact, already referred to, that Tieck gave the title "*Liebes Leid und Lust*" to the German

¹ Herford, *Eversley Shakespeare*, vol. iii. p. 111.

² *Ibid.* p. 231.

translation of this play is an interesting recognition of the truth of the last sentence quoted.

When one reads the passage from Meres that furnishes the basis of our whole discussion, it seems perfectly clear that he mentions by name six different tragedies and six different comedies, all by Shakespeare. Dowden makes the natural comment : " It will be noticed that Meres mentions six plays of each kind, preserving a balanced symmetry which he affects." Dowden then adds : " Possibly he made omissions, possibly he pressed into his list the doubtful ' Titus,' with the object of equalizing the number of tragedies and comedies named by him."¹

How far does Meres " affect a balanced symmetry " in the sketch where occurs the passage that we are seeking to interpret ? It is impossible for us to reprint the entire essay ; but, as the six remaining references to Shakespeare fairly represent the style of the disquisition, and as they have an independent interest for students of the great dramatist, they are given here : —

" As the Greeke tongue is made famous and eloquent by *Homer, Hesiod, Euripedes, Aeschilus, Sophocles, Pindarus, Phocylides, and Aristophanes* ; and the Latine tongue by *Virgill, Ouid, Horace, Silius Italicus, Lucanus, Lucretius, Ansonius and Claudianus* ; so the English tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeously inuested in rare ornaments and resplendent abiliments by *Sir Philip Sidney, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakespeare, Marlow and Chapman.*

.

¹ *Shakspeare Primer* (New York, 1879), p. 34.

“As *Ouid* saith of his worke ;

*Iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iouis ira, nec ignis,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.*¹

“And as *Horace* saith of his ; *Exegi monumentum
aere perennius ; Regalique situ pyramidum altius ;
Quod non imber edax ; Non Aquilo impotens possit
diruere ; aut innumerabilis annorum series & fuga
temporum :*² so say I severally of sir *Philip Sidney*s,
Spencers, Daniels, Draytons, Shakespeares, and War-
ners workes ;

Non Iouis ira : imbres : Mars : ferrum : flamma, senectus ;

Hoc opus unda : lues : turbo : venena ruent.

*Et quamquam ad pulcherrimum hoc opus evertendum tres illi Dij
conspirabunt, Cronus, Vulcanus, & pater ipse gentis ;*

Non tamen annorum series, non flamma, nec ensis,

*Aeternum potuit hoc abolere Decus.*³

.

“As *Pindarus, Anacreon* and *Callimachus* among
the Greekes ; and *Horace* and *Catullus* among the La-

¹ And now my work is done, which not Jove's wrath, nor fire,
Shall e'er destroy, nor sword, nor gnawing tooth of time.

² I've reared a lofty monument,
More lasting far than time-defying bronze,
And higher than the royal pyramids ;
And this no biting storm, nor whirlwind's rage,
Nor flight of time in countless sum of years
Can overthrow.

³ Neither the wrath of Jove, nor storm, nor war, nor sword, nor
flame, nor age,
Shall bring this work to naught, nor flood, nor plague, nor whirl-
wind's might, nor poison's baleful power.

And though to overthrow this beauteous monument, three mighty
gods

Conspire, old Cronus, Vulcan, and the very father of our race,
Still neither flight of years, nor flame, nor sword,
Has power to dim the immortal splendor of this song.

tines are the best Lyrick Poets : so in this faculty the best among our Poets are *Spencer* who excelleth in all kinds) ¹ *Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Bretton.*

“As these Tragicke Poets flourished in Greece, *Aeschylus, Euripedes, Sophocles, Alexander Aetolus, Achaeus Erithriaeus, Astydamas Atheniensis, Apollodorus Tarsensis, Nicomachus Phrygius, Thespis Atticus*, and *Timon Apolloniates* ; and these among the Latines, *Accius, M. Attilius, Pomponius Secundus* and *Seneca* ; so these are our best for Tragedie, the Lord *Buckhurst*, Doctor *Leg* of Cambridge, Doctor *Edes* of Oxforde, maister *Edward Ferris*, the Authour of the *Mirroure for Magistrates*, *Marlow, Peele, Watson, Kid, Shakespeare, Drayton, Chapman, Decker* and *Beniamin Iohnson.*

.

“The best Poets for Comedy among the Greeks are these, *Menander, Aristophanes, Eupolis Atheniensis, Alexis Terius, Nicostratus, Amipsias Atheniensis, Anaxandrides Rhodius, Aristonymus, Archippus Atheniensis* and *Callias Atheniensis* ; and among the Latines, *Plautus, Terence, Naeuius, Sext. Turpilius, Licinius Imbrex*, and *Virgilius Romanus* : so the best for Comedy amongst vs bee, *Edward Earle* of Oxforde, Doctor *Gager* of Oxforde, Maister *Rowley* once a rare Scholler of learned *Pembrooke Hall* in Cambridge, Maister *Edwardes* one of her Maiesties Chappell, eloquent and wittie *Iohn Lilly, Lodge, Gascoyne, Greene, Shakespeare, Thomas Nash, Thomas Heywood, Anthony Munday* our best plotter, *Chapman, Porter, Wilson, Hathway*, and *Henry Chettle.*

.

“As these are famous among the Greeks for Elegie,

¹ Reproducing the punctuation of the original.

Melanthus, Mymnerus Colophonius, Olympius Mysius, Parthenius Nicaeus, Philetas Cous, Theogenes Megarensis and *Pigres Halicarnassaeus* ; and these among the Latines, *Maecenas, Ovid, Tibullus, Propertius, T. Valgius, Cassius Seuerus & Clodius Sabinus* ; so these are the most passionate among vs to bewaile and bemoane the perplexities of Loue, *Henrie Howard Earle of Surrey, sir Thomas Wyat the elder, sir Francis Brian, sir Philip Sidney, sir Walter Rawley, sir Edward Dyer, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Shakespeare, Whetstone, Gascoyne, Samuell Page* sometimes fellowe of *Corpus Christi* Colledge in Oxford, *Churchyard, Bretton.*"¹

In the first of the above passages, eight Greek and eight Roman writers are mated with eight Elizabethans. In the second passage, there is no "balanced symmetry." In each of the four remaining quotations there seems to be some attempt to make the number of classical writers mentioned equal to the number of Englishmen ; but under the elegiac poets, according to the punctuation of Ingleby and Arber, fifteen English writers are set over against seven Greeks and seven Romans. The symmetry of the passage concerning "Poets for Comedy" is imperfect, ten Greek and six Roman writers being balanced by seventeen Elizabethans.

The suggestion of the Quarterly Reviewer is, practically, that Meres pressed into service the double title of a single comedy in order to secure a merely formal symmetry, and thus make the titles of five comedies balance those of six tragedies. Since

¹ *Shakspeare Allusion-Books*, edited by C. M. Ingleby (London, 1874), Part I. pp. 157, 160-2.

a similar explanation is brought forward more distinctly by von Westenholz in the next division of this paper, the discussion of the question will be deferred until then. The natural presumption is against this method of meeting the difficulty.

III. "A MIDSUMMER-NIGHT'S DREAM"

The view just examined makes "Love's Labour's Won" another name for the play "Love's Labour's Lost." But there is about the same grammatical and *prima facie* basis for another suggestion, namely, that "Love's Labour's Won" is the first title, or the first half of the title, of the comedy which follows it in Meres's list, "A Midsummer-Night's Dream." This view seems to have been first put forward in 1902 in an acute and gracefully worded article by a German scholar, Professor von Westenholz.¹

If we disregard for the moment the manifest objection that Meres seems to mention six different comedies to balance six tragedies, it is really surprising how much von Westenholz finds in support of his conjecture. He insists that in a play which is to be identified with "Love's Labour's Won," we must expect to find a parallelism with "Love's Labour's Lost" corresponding to the intentional parallelism in the titles. Agreement in the general tone, and marked correspondences in the action and the characters, are to be looked for.

¹ "Shakespeares 'Gewonnene Liebesmüh,'" in the *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, January 14, 1902, pp. 77-9.

Von Westenholz finds only two comedies of Shakespeare which in general plan and in tone can be accepted as mentally and spiritually related to "Love's Labour's Lost." These are "As You Like It" and "A Midsummer-Night's Dream"; and in the former of these the other correspondences desired are wanting.

This critic considers that the Duke, Lysander, and Demetrius, in "A Midsummer-Night's Dream," correspond to three of the lovers in "Love's Labour's Lost," the King, Longaville, and Dumain. He even finds the agreement in the initials of the courtiers' names to be significant, since the Elizabethans did "something affect the letter."

Biron as a lover has no analogue in "A Midsummer-Night's Dream," but as humorist and interpreter of the action we find a counterpart in Puck. It is Biron and Puck who express the difference in the outcome of the two plays in contrasted passages, which remind us at once of the titles "Love's Labour's Lost" and "Love's Labour's Won":—

"Our wooing doth not end like an old play;
Jack hath not Jill."

L. L. Lost, V. ii. 884-5.

"Jack shall have Jill;
Nought shall go ill."

A M.-N. Dream, III. ii. 461-2.

The daring suggestion is made that perhaps Puck is called Robin because that name contains the same letters that are in *Biron*. We may add

that the strange identification of the dainty Puck with Robin Goodfellow (A M.-N. D. II. i. 34), the toiling "lubber fiend" of Milton's "L' Allegro," is thus given a still stranger explanation.

Von Westenholz sets over against each other the play, or procession, of the Nine Worthies, in one comedy, and the foolish characters who produce it, and, in the other, the play of Pyramus and Thisbe, and the craftsmen-actors. This is in many ways a striking parallel. The correspondence which is noted between Armado's lofty wooing of Jaquenetta and Titania's infatuation for Bottom is less marked.

The fact that Bottom jests with each of the other servants of Titania but not with Moth (A M.-N. D. III. i.; IV. i.), von Westenholz explains by the bold supposition that Moth was a character added after the completion of the play, solely for the purpose of reminding us of the little page bearing that name in "Love's Labour's Lost."

It is suggested by von Westenholz that "Love's Labour's Lost" failed to keep the stage because of its weakness as an acting play; that this setting aside of its companion piece took away the special significance of the title "Love's Labour's Won"; and that the play which had borne this last name came to be known later as "A Midsummer-Night's Dream." This new appellation should be interpreted as a fanciful suggestion concerning the origin of the play; thus we escape the difficulty that the action closes on the evening of May Day. Meres

is supposed to have used the double title both for the sake of greater clearness, the play having borne each name in turn, and especially that he might preserve a superficial balance between the two parts of his list.

To say that Meres put in a double title for one comedy in order to preserve an outward equality between the two divisions of his catalogue, skillfully turns the flank of those who have relied upon the symmetry and balance of the "comparatiue discourse" as proving that each half of the list contains six plays. According to von Westenholz, Meres was indeed so fond of outward symmetry that he was content to balance six titles representing five comedies against six titles representing six tragedies. In saying this, von Westenholz is really supporting the theory of the Quarterly Reviewer concerning "Love's Labour's Lost," examined in the previous section, just as much as his own.

One cannot help feeling that it would have been more natural for Francis Meres to drop one of the tragedies from his catalogue, naming only five dramas of each kind, than to set over against an actual play a mere cipher, a dummy title. He certainly could not hope by this misleading device to deceive the men of his own day, for whom he wrote.

Von Westenholz might well have called attention to the fact known to all that the Folio and the early quartos do not show us a single play of *Henry the 4*, as cited by Meres, but two plays, "The First Part of King Henry the Fourth" and "The

Second Part of King Henry the Fourth." Even if we admit that Meres felt his title *Henry the 4* to represent two closely related dramas and not one long drama, this method of reducing or compressing seven titles to six in the list of tragedies offers little support to the conjecture that five real titles were extended to six apparent ones in the list of comedies.

The form of the expression in Meres seems almost conclusive against both von Westenholz and the Quarterly Reviewer. The titles in Meres's list must surely designate separate plays, since each one is preceded by the word "his": "witnes his *Gentlemen of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Loue labors lost*, his *Loue labours wonne*, his *Midsummers night dreame*, & his *Merchant of Venice*."

It is noticeable, too, that Meres shortens all but one of the titles in this list of comedies that we can positively identify, one of them being reduced to the single word *Errors*. It is entirely improbable that a long and elaborate double title is present.

The First Folio, as is well known, prints the plays of Shakespeare in three separate divisions, called in the preliminary "Catalogue," or table of contents, "Comedies, Histories, Tragedies"; and the "Histories," the plays named from English kings subsequent to the Norman Conquest, are given in their historical order. Von Westenholz argues from these facts that it is very probable that the order in which the plays are printed in the two other divisions of the Folio is based upon some real prin-

ciple or principles, although the existing arrangement has not seemed to show any distinct plan. He finds it significant that "Love's Labour's Lost" is followed immediately in the Folio by what he believes to be its companion play, "A Midsummer-Night's Dream." Meres names these two plays together and in the same order, if we admit that "A Midsummer-Night's Dream" is first designated by a former title, "Love's Labour's Won."

It is a striking fact, which the present writer has not seen noted, that the comedies named by Meres, disregarding the uncertain "Love's Labour's Won," are printed in the Folio in the order in which he names them, though not consecutively. This is made clear in the following table:—

Folio Order.	Order in Meres.
The Tempest.	
The Two Gentlemen of Verona.	Gentlemen of Verona.
The Merry Wives of Windsor.	
Measure for Measure.	
The Comedy of Errors.	Errors.
Much Ado about Nothing.	
Love's Labour's Lost.	Loue labors lost.
	Loue labours wonne.
A Midsummer-Night's Dream.	Midsummers night dreame.
The Merchant of Venice.	Merchant of Venice.
As You Like It.	
The Taming of the Shrew.	
All's Well that Ends Well.	
Twelfth Night; or, What You Will.	
The Winter's Tale.	

How shall we account for this strange agreement in the order of the Folio and of Meres? Can it be that the editors of the Folio were acquainted with

the passage in the "comparative discourse," and consciously or unconsciously made their arrangement agree therewith? If the list of Meres is to conform throughout to the order of the Folio, as it does in the case of the five known comedies which it contains, then we are limited, apparently, to the three theories concerning "Love's Labour's Won" that have now been presented, namely: "Love's Labour's Won" has been lost; the name is a second title for "Love's Labour's Lost"; the name is a first title for "A Midsummer-Night's Dream."

Some of the arguments of von Westenholz have undeniable force; and the acuteness and skill with which he has worked out and presented his theory almost blind one to its fundamental difficulty.

IV. "THE TEMPEST"

Much attention has been given during the past thirty years to the question of the chronological order in which Shakespeare's plays were written. The progressive development of Shakespeare's mind and art has been studied more carefully than ever before. Every student of the subject knows that, as one result of this inquiry, "The Tempest" has come to be accepted as one of the latest plays of its great author. The comedy shows in a high degree those peculiarities of versification, style, and spirit which have been found to mark the closing period of Shakespeare's writing. It seems really impossible that the play can have been in existence at the time when Meres wrote his "comparative discourse."

We shall therefore give but little space to the theory of the Rev. Joseph Hunter that "Love's Labour's Won" is a name that was once given to "The Tempest." This view was published in a separate "Disquisition" in 1839, and Hunter enlarged and fortified his statement of it in his "New Illustrations of Shakespeare" in 1845.¹

"In what way is it," asks Hunter, "that Prospero makes trial of the *love* of Ferdinand for Miranda? How, but by imposing upon him certain *labours*? The particular kind of labour is the placing in a pile logs of firewood. He serves in this as Jacob did for Rachel, *winning* his bride from her austere father by them. In other words he proves the sincerity of his affection to the satisfaction of Prospero by the faithfulness with which he performs these labours, and thus his *love labours win* the consent of Prospero to their union."

Concerning Hunter's fundamental contention that "Love's Labour's Won" is a fitting designation for "The Tempest," Knight observes:—

"Our belief in the significance of Shakspeare's titles would be at an end if even a 'main incident' was to suggest a name, instead of the general course of the thought or action."²

Says Furness upon the same point:—

"For us who are not convinced by Hunter's arguments, it is sufficient to remember that Prospero's

¹ Vol. i. Part II. pp. 123-89. Abundant extracts are given in Furness's Variorum edition of *The Tempest* (Philadelphia, 1892), pp. 284-94.

² Ed. Shakspeare, 2d ed. (London, 1842), Introduction to *All's Well*, vol. i. p. 335.

object in subjecting the young Prince to his power was gained as much after the first [log] had been carried, as after the thousandth, and that the labour in itself amounted to nothing, and could really win nothing; Miranda's hand was not set as the price of it, and in fact Prospero had adopted Ferdinand as his future son-in-law before he was shipwrecked, so that it could not have been any labours of Ferdinand that won Miranda."¹

Hunter was never able to gain adherents to his view, and the later developments of Shakespearian study have deprived this theory both of probability and interest. The further arguments for and against it are accessible in Furness's edition of "The Tempest," and need not be detailed here.

V. "ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL"

Farmer, in his essay "On the Learning of Shakespeare," 1767, was presumably the first to offer a suggestion as to the meaning of the enigmatical title found in Meres. He speaks of "All's Well that Ends Well, or, as I suppose it to have been sometimes called, Love's Labour Wonne."²

Farmer's conjecture was probably suggested by the fitness of the title "Love's Labour's Won," considered by itself, to serve as a designation for "All's Well." Malone, in 1778, in the first edition of his essay, "An Attempt to Ascertain the Order in which the Plays of Shakespeare Were Written," accepted Farmer's conjecture, and gave

¹ Variorum edition of *The Tempest*, p. 288.

² The Boswell-Malone Variorum edition of Shakespeare (London, 1821), vol. i. p. 314.

to "All's Well" the date 1598, the very year when we are to suppose that it is mentioned by Meres under another name. "No other of our author's plays," Malone declared, "could have borne that title ['Love's Labour's Won'] with so much propriety."¹ Nevertheless, the mature style of certain portions caused Malone later to assign 1606 as a more probable date for the writing of this comedy.²

The difficulty which compelled this scholar to abandon his first opinion would probably have prevented a general acceptance of Farmer's conjecture, had not another peculiarity of "All's Well" made it seem entirely feasible to combine in one theory all that was essential in both of Malone's opinions, apparently contradictory though they were. According to Collier, Coleridge expressed the opinion "in 1811, and again in 1818, though it is not found in his 'Literary Remains,' that 'All's Well that Ends Well,' as it has come down to us, was written at two different and rather distant periods of the poet's life. He pointed out very clearly two distinct styles, not only of thought, but of expression."³

In his "Lectures on Shakspeare," as now collected and published, Coleridge speaks of "All's Well" as having been "originally intended as the

¹ Ed. Shakspeare (London, 1790), vol. i. Part I. p. 319.

² The Boswell-Malone Variorum Shakspeare of 1821, vol. ii. p. 406.

³ Ed. Shakspeare, J. P. Collier, 2d ed. (London, 1858), vol. ii. p. 529.

counterpart of 'Love's Labour's Lost.'” It is clear, therefore, that he accepted the suggestion of Farmer also.

Two facts already indicated — the *prima facie* fitness of the title “Love's Labour's Won” to designate the play of “All's Well,” and the apparent existence in the play side by side of two widely dissimilar styles of writing — have led perhaps the majority of Shakespearean students at the same time to accept the identification proposed by Farmer, and to admit that portions of “All's Well” are later than 1598. While no two of these critics would express themselves in just the same way, Collier's statement of the matter is a fairly representative one: —

“My notion is that ‘All's Well that Ends Well’ was in the first instance, and prior to 1598, called ‘Love's Labour's Won,’ and that it had a clear reference to ‘Love's Labour's Lost,’ of which it might be considered the counterpart. It was then, perhaps, laid by for some years, and revived by its author, with alterations and additions, about 1605 or 1606, when the new title of ‘All's Well that Ends Well’ was given to it.”¹

The theory that in the title *Loue labours wonne* Meres refers to an earlier form of the play “All's Well that Ends Well” has been held by Coleridge (as already indicated), Tieck, Collier (already cited), Lloyd, Verplanck, Dyce, White, Gervinus, von Friesen, Ward, Elze, Fleay (first

¹ Ed. Shakespeare, 1858, vol. ii. p. 530.

opinion), Furnivall, Stokes, Hudson, Boyle, Brandes, and Herford.¹

Other scholars identify "All's Well" with "Love's Labour's Won" without any reference to the question whether or not it ever underwent a revision. This is in general the position of Farmer (already cited), of Drake (who was perhaps ignorant of Coleridge's opinion), of Ulrici, Knight, Staunton, Delius, W. König, Kreyssig, and Sidney Lee.²

The critics just named attach no importance to the suggestion that "All's Well" experienced revision. Knight, to be sure, speaks of the possibility that the comedy may have been first produced "in an imperfect form." W. König thinks that a later revision, if it took place at all, cannot have been of any importance. Delius finds

¹ A reference is here given only when the bibliographies at the close of the last four volumes of Furness's *Variorum Shakespeare* — *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Much Ado*, *Twelfth Night* — do not suffice. In these bibliographies the editions of Shakespeare are arranged chronologically, and all other works alphabetically by authors. Tieck is quoted by Knight, and Verplanck by White. The 5th edition of Dyce, the 2d of Ward, the 5th of the translation of Gervinus, have been used. The following references are not in Furness: von Friesen, *Jahrbuch* of the German Shakespeare Society, vol. ii. pp. 48-54; Fleay, *Shakespeare Manual*, 1876, pp. 224-6; Boyle, "'All's Well that Ends Well' and 'Love's Labour's Won,'" *Englische Studien*, vol. xiv. pp. 408-21; Herford, *Eversley Shakespeare*, vol. iii. pp. 111-8.

² Knight has been used in the 2d edition, Kreyssig in the 3d. Delius, *Shaksperes Werke*, 1864, "Einleitung zu All's Well"; W. König, *Jahrbuch* of the German Shakespeare Society, vol. x. p. 215; Lee, *Life of William Shakespeare*, p. 162.

no grounds for the view that "All's Well" was composed at different periods. He gives the date as 1598, on account of the supposed reference in Meres, but says that the style of the play would suggest a later period.

Some of those who uphold the view of Coleridge are very positive in asserting that "All's Well" contains passages written at widely separated dates. White and Verplanck state that they formed this opinion before learning that it had been held by Coleridge. Hudson and Boyle think that the contrast between the two styles, "the Poet's rawest and ripest styles" (Hudson), is pronounced. Furnivall declares that "no intelligent person can read the play without being struck by the contrast of early and late work in it."

Boyle has probably presented more fully and carefully than any one else the evidence for the view that "All's Well" has been revised from an earlier version; while Hertzberg, who does not accept the identification with "Love's Labour's Won," has given the only detailed argument known to the present writer in support of the opinion of Delius that "All's Well" was written at one burst.¹

The outline of this controversy that is given here must be brief. The following passage is a specimen of those parts of "All's Well" that are considered to be of early date:—

¹ *Shakespeares dramatische Werke, nach der Uebersetzung von Schlegel und Tieck, herausgegeben durch die deutsche Sh.-Gesellschaft, 2te Aufl. 1897; Einleitung zu Ende gut, Alles gut, vol. xi. pp. 345-62.*

"*Helena.* The great'st grace lending grace,
 Ere twice the horses of the sun shall bring
 Their fiery torcher his diurnal ring,
 Ere twice in murk and occidental damp
 Moist Hesperus hath quench'd his sleepy lamp,
 Or four and twenty times the pilot's glass
 Hath told the thievish minutes how they pass,
 What is infirm from your sound parts shall fly,
 Health shall live free and sickness freely die."

II. i. 163-71.

The Marlowe-like rhetoric and the youthful formalism of these lines are noticeable. Other portions of the play that appear to show Shakespeare's early style are: *Helena's* rhymed soliloquy at the close of the first scene — I. i. 231-44; and the indelicate conversation a little earlier between *Helena* and *Parolles* — I. i. 121-78. The hiatus at line 179 seems to indicate that parts have been carelessly patched together.

Shakespeare's earlier versification appears to mark portions of "All's Well." All passages in which rhymes are abundant have been called early by some, irrespective of deeper considerations. Herford has carefully discriminated and summarized the evidence from the rhyme.¹ Some rhymed passages are plainly of an early type. Hertzberg points out the number and quality of the run-on lines (*enjambements*) in the last speech of the first scene, as a proof that it cannot be early; but the following run-on lines in "Love's Labour's Lost" show that he has made too much of this: —

¹ *Eversley Shakespeare*, vol. iii. pp. 111-3.

(*Biron.*) "This is the ape of form, monsieur the nice,
That, when he plays at tables, chides the dice
In honourable terms: nay, he can sing
A mean most meanly; and in ushering
Mend him who can."

V. ii. 325-9.

Other run-on lines are found near these, for example: V. ii. 343, 351, 355, 367, 376, 408, 416.

Arguments for the early date of portions of "All's Well" have been found in the colorless personality of the clown and his lack of connection with the action;¹ in the fact that Parolles seems a first sketch for Falstaff (Tieck); in the indelicate conversations; in the agreements of thought between the dialogue of Helena and Parolles already referred to (I. i. 121-78) and the first seventeen of the Sonnets (these dwell upon the duty of having offspring); and in the inconsistencies in the portrayal of Helena and Parolles.²

A few features suggest a special connection of "All's Well" with "Love's Labour's Lost." The First and Second Lords in one play and one of the four suitors in the other have the same name, Dumain. Certain similarities exist between the characters Parolles and Armado.³ The tone of the indecorous jesting in the two plays is very similar.

No better example can be given of the mature manner that marks portions of "All's Well" than

¹ Von Friesen, *Jahrbuch*, vol. ii. p. 52.

² Boyle, *Eng. Studien*, vol. xiv. pp. 416-8.

³ Brandes, *William Shakespeare*, one-vol. ed., p. 49.

the farewell words of the Countess to Bertram. This advice reminds us of that given by Polonius to Laertes, but surpasses that both in brevity and depth.

"Countess. Be thou blest, Bertram, and succeed thy father
In manners, as in shape ! thy blood and virtue
Contend for empire in thee, and thy goodness
Share with thy birthright ! Love all, trust a few,
Do wrong to none : be able for thine enemy
Rather in power than use, and keep thy friend
Under thy own life's key : be check'd for silence,
But never tax'd for speech. What heaven more will,
That thee may furnish and my prayers pluck down,
Fall on thy head !"

I. i. 70-9.

Other passages showing Shakespeare's riper style are : Helena's soliloquy expressing her love for Bertram — I. i. 90-109 ; and her decision to leave Rousillon — III. ii. 102-32.

Some of the maturer passages in "All's Well" have parallels in "Hamlet" and "Measure for Measure."¹ One connection with "Hamlet" has just been pointed out.

The disagreements between the dates assigned to this play by reputable critics demand some such explanation as that afforded by the theory that an early play or fragment was afterward revised or completed. The dates of Knight, 1589-93, and Ulrici, 1591-2, are in marked contrast with that of Malone,² 1606. Such a difference of opinion as this concerning the date of a play of Shakespeare can hardly be paralleled.

¹ Boyle, p. 416 ; Brandes, pp. 393 ff.

² The Boswell-Malone Variorum, 1821, vol. ii. p. 406.

A direct reference to the supposed former title of the comedy has been seen by some in one line of "All's Well," and a possible reference to its two names in another line:—

(*Helena.*) "Will you be mine, now you are doubly won?"
V. iii. 315.

(*King.*) "All is well ended, if this suit be won,
That you express content."
V. iii. 336-7 (*Epilogue*).

Boyle has pointed out some inadvertences and inconsistencies which seem to him to support the view that the play experienced revision, but they hardly prove anything more than carelessness.

The different conjectures as to when and why the supposed former title of this play was replaced by the present one are of interest. The usual view is the one already expressed by Collier, namely, that the comedy once existed in an earlier form, which was known as "Love's Labour's Won;" that when it was revised into its present condition the new form received the new name. The frequent references to the proverbial title, "All's Well that Ends Well," occur in passages showing the later style (IV. iv. 35; V. i. 25; V. iii. 333, 336), and are usually looked upon as intentional references to the new name that was already selected. Malone, in stating his first opinion, conjectured that it was the presence of the proverb in the text that brought about the change of name.¹ Staunton thinks that the play "was originally in-

¹ Ed. Shakspeare (London, 1790), vol. i. Part I. p. 319.

tituled 'Love's Labour's Won; or, All's Well that Ends Well.'” Ulrici and Kreyssig suggest that the change was made in order to avoid inappropriate comparisons between this play and “Love's Labour's Lost.”

The consciousness of having a large majority of Shakespearean scholars with them has led some of the later advocates of “All's Well” to speak with unwarranted confidence. Brandes goes so far as to say: —

“Since it is scarcely conceivable that a play of Shakespeare's, once acted, should have been entirely lost, the only question is, which of the extant comedies originally bore that title [‘Love's Labour's Won’]. But in reality there is no question at all: the play is ‘All's Well that Ends Well’ — not, of course, as we now possess it, in a form and style belonging to a quite mature period of the poet's life, but as it stood before the searching revision, of which it shows evident traces.”¹

In spite of the popularity of the view that “All's Well” was referred to by Meres as “Love's Labour's Won,” and in spite of the arguments in its favor, there are grave objections. “All's Well” has, indeed, certain characteristics that seem to favor its claim, but it has also fundamental deficiencies. In the first place, no close connection between this comedy and its supposed brother play has been pointed out. The marked correspondences and parallelisms between the two pieces which we properly expect to find do not exist. The titles “Love's

¹ *William Shakespeare*, one-vol. ed. (New York, 1899), p. 47.

Labour's Lost" and "Love's Labour's Won" seem intended to designate companion plays. "All's Well" is not a good companion piece to "Love's Labour's Lost," and it seems safe to say that it never was.

Furthermore, there is a marked contrast in tone, in mood, between these two plays that are supposed to have been thus closely associated; and this contrast can hardly have been preceded in an earlier version of "All's Well" by any genuine and deep-seated agreement. The central situation of "All's Well," the desperate venture of the indomitable Helena, would be intolerable if treated in the tone of easy banter that distinguishes "Love's Labour's Lost." A Helena who was not fundamentally serious would be nothing — yes, worse than nothing.

"All's Well" satisfies some of the conditions, then, that must be met by a play that is a candidate for the title "Love's Labour's Won"; what may fairly be termed the more fundamental conditions it does not satisfy.

Kenny uttered some plain truth on this subject nearly forty years ago, when he said: —

"Coleridge believed that 'All's Well that Ends Well' was originally intended as the counterpart of 'Love's Labour's Lost.' But we can discover no indication of any such intention, and there is, we think, as little resemblance between the two works as between any other two comedies of their author."¹

¹ *The Life and Genius of Shakespeare* (London, 1864), p. 202.

Ingleby tells us : —

“ ‘Love[s] Labours Wonne’ . . . has not been satisfactorily identified with any of the plays in our collection. For one thing, we do not think it likely to be ‘All’s Well that Ends Well,’ as Farmer conjectured, which, in our opinion, offers no sufficient resemblance or contrast to serve as a pendant to ‘Loves Labours Lost.’ ”¹

With the following well-considered words of von Westenholz we close this division of the subject:

“ But even if the action of ‘All’s Well that Ends Well’ were to justify more than that of any other comedy the title ‘Love’s Labour’s Won,’ there is still a very important consideration that has been left out of count. That title evidently did not attach itself to the play, at least not primarily, for the sake of the play itself ; rather did the drama receive it as a deliberate contrast to the already existing ‘Love’s Labour’s Lost.’ ”

“ The same parallelism, however, which existed between the two titles must naturally have been evident also in the two plays themselves, showing itself in the occurrences, the persons, and above all in the character of the dramas, or, in other words, in the atmosphere which seems to envelop the action.

“ Especially in the last respect, it would be hard to find in the entire series of Shakespearean comedies two which have less in common than these. In the one, we have an almost total absence of dramatic action, but a half-romantic background, a graceful playing with words, a sparkling fire of wit ; in the other, the subject-matter, couched in weighty, often coarse language,

¹ *Shakspeare Allusion-Books*, Part I. (London, 1874), General Intro. p. xxiv.

is earnest, serious rather than comic in its nature; and the harsh, sometimes painful elements even the art of Shakespeare could only mitigate, not suppress.”¹

VI. “MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING”

In the year 1860, in an anonymous book, Mr. A. E. Brae argued that “Much Ado” should be accepted as the true “Love’s Labour’s Won.”²

The date of 1599 is usually given to “Much Ado,” because it seems to be omitted from Meres’s list of 1598, while it was published in quarto form in 1600. The title-page of this first edition tells us that “it hath been sundrie times publikely acted by the right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants.” There is no grave difficulty, therefore, about the date; especially since, as Furness points out, the two other comedies which were published in 1600, “A Midsummer-Night’s Dream” and “The Merchant of Venice,” are found in Meres.

Brae would apply the title “Love’s Labour’s Won” to the story of Benedict and Beatrice. The name “Much Ado about Nothing” plainly applies to the action of Claudio and Hero. The reference to a play “called Benedicte and Betteris” in an item in the Lord-Treasurer Stanhope’s Accounts for May 20, 1613, suggests “that the present title

¹ Translated from *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung*, January 14, 1902, p. 78.

² *Collier, Coleridge, and Shakespeare*, by the author of *Literary Cookery* (London, 1860), chap. vi. pp. 131-48. The extracts in Furness’s *Variorum* edition of *Much Ado* (Philadelphia, 1899), pp. 367-71, are ample.

was not always adhered to.”¹ Halliwell-Phillipps says, also, “that Charles the First, in his copy of the Second Folio, preserved in Windsor Castle, has added the names ‘Benedick’ and Beatrice,’ as a second title.”²

Before we examine Brae’s interpretation of the titles “Love’s Labour’s Lost” and “Love’s Labour’s Won,” let us see what authority we have for the exact form in which they are usually given. We have noted that the two designations appear in Meres as *Loue labors lost* and *Loue labours wonne*. “Loues labors lost” is the form on the title-page of the first quarto of the play. The headline of each right-hand page throughout the book is *Loues Labor’s lost*. In the quarto the apostrophe frequently marks the abbreviation ’s for *is*, but seems not to be used before an -s that denotes a possessive case, a plural of a noun, or the third singular indicative of a verb. It seems clear, therefore, as Furnivall points out,³ that *Labor’s* is meant as a contraction for *Labor is*.

The First Folio has *Loues Labour lost* in the preliminary “Catalogue,” or table of contents, and *Loues Labour’s lost* as the heading for each page of the text. The proper form of the title in modern

¹ Furness, *Much Ado*, pp. xxi, 368.

² The quotation is from Furness, *Much Ado*, p. xxii. He cites “Halliwell, *Outlines*, etc., p. 262,” as his authority. The statement is not in the 10th ed. of the *Outlines*. Professor I. N. Demmon finds that it was in the 2d ed. (1882).

³ Griggs, Facsimile of the First Quarto of *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, note to p. iii of Forewords.

spelling would therefore seem to be "Love's Labo(u)r's Lost." The corresponding title would naturally be "Love's Labo(u)r's Won."

Hertzberg feels, however, that in the case of "Love's Labour's Won," the *Labour's* must be interpreted as an abbreviation for *Labour has*, since one does not *win labour*, though he may *lose labour*.¹ Probably this difficulty will not seem important to one whose native tongue is English. It is easy to interpret *labour* as put by metonymy for the object of the labour, the desired result. Then "Love's Labour's Won" would mean "the desired result of the labor is won, has been obtained." This explanation would also apply to the companion title, if desired. Hertzberg could find no example in Shakespeare of the use of 's as an abbreviation for *has*; but a difficult expression in "The Tempest" is thought by many to be an example of this contraction: "For he 's a spirit of persuasion" (II. i. 235). It does not seem probable, however, that this abbreviation can be found in an early play, least of all in the title. Frequent and bold abbreviations of common words and combinations, apparently taken from colloquial usage, are a distinct mark of Shakespeare's latest style.

But we are not yet through with the labor — whether of love or aversion — which falls to those who would fully consider the question of the signi-

¹ *Shakespeares dramatische Werke*, nach der Uebersetzung von Schlegel und Tieck, herausgegeben durch die deutsche Sh.-Gesellschaft, 2te Aufl. 1897; Einleitung zu *Ende gut, Alles gut*, vol. xi. p. 345, note.

fiance of these troublesome titles. Brae offers an interpretation of his own : —

“It seems to have escaped notice on all hands that the *mythological* sense of *Love's Labour* would be much more consonant with the age in which Shakespeare wrote, than the *sentimental* sense. That is, that *Love's Labours* in the dramatic writing of that time, would be much more likely to be understood as the gests or exploits of the *deity* Love, in the same sense as the fabled *Labours of Hercules*.

“That such is really the intention of the title in the case of ‘*Love's Labour's Lost*,’ must become apparent to any one who will attentively read the play with that previous notion. He will then perceive abundant evidence, all through, that it is the mythical exploits of the blind god that are alluded to : — in overcoming the apparently insurmountable difficulties opposed to him ; in setting at nought the vows of the king and his courtiers ; and in bringing to the feet of the princess and her ladies the very men who had forsworn all women. After scattering human resolves to the winds, and reducing to subjection the hearts that had presumed to set him at defiance, Love at length succumbs to a still more absolute deity than himself. *Death* steps in to frustrate his designs, at the very instant of fruition, and so his labour becomes *Labour Lost*.

“The mythological allusions are unmistakeable. Biron exclaims, when the King enters love-stricken, ‘*Proceed, sweet Cupid : thou hast thumped him with thy bird-bolt under the left pap*’ [IV. iii. 22–4]. In another place, ‘*Love*’ is ‘*a Hercules, still climbing trees in the Hesperides*’ [IV. iii. 340, 341], a direct reference to the mythological labours of Hercules ! And when the whole ‘mess of fools’ yield themselves, rescue or no

rescue, the King personifies Love and invokes him as his patron, — '*Saint Cupid, then! and, soldiers, to the field!*' [IV. iii. 366].

"Now, according to the interpretation the title of this play has hitherto received at the hands of Shakespeare's editors, the mythological sense is ignored. The love's labour which, according to them, is lost, is not *Love's* labour, but that of the King and his fellows, '*in their endeavours,*' as Mr. Knight explains, '*to ingratiate themselves with their mistresses.*' But surely such an explanation excludes the most prominent labour of all, the conquest of the men themselves! They, so far from being partakers in the labour, are unwilling victims, — each ashamed to acknowledge his defeat to his fellows. This was the triumph, this was the exploit, — and, being attributable to Love alone, it is of itself almost sufficient to establish the true meaning of the title."

Mr. Brae now seeks to win from his interpretation of this title an argument for his contention that "*Much Ado*" is the desired "*Love's Labour's Won*": —

"In mythological language, a *labour* was an achievement of great and supernatural difficulty, to be undertaken only by the Gods and Heroes; from the analogy, then, of the assumed meaning of that word in '*Love's Labour's Lost,*' something of the same character must naturally be looked for in whatever play may have borne the companion title of '*Love's Labour's Won*'; and it is now to be shown that in no other available play is there so much of that character as in '*Much Ado about Nothing.*'

"In it, the same difficulty is encountered in bringing together sworn enemies to Love, who profess to set him

at defiance; the same forced subjection of unwilling victims who are confidently boasting of their freedom.

“So completely is this recognized as a *labour*, that Don Pedro, the match maker, who must meddle with everybody’s love affairs, and fancy them his own doing, exclaims:— ‘I will . . . undertake one of Hercules’ labours; which is, to bring Signior Benedick and the Lady Beatrice into a mountain of affection the one with the other’ [II. i. 379–83]. Here, then, in ‘Love’s Labour’s Won’ (?), is the same literal reference to the *Labours of Hercules* as that before noted in ‘Love’s Labour’s Lost’!

“But it is in the numerous allusions to the deity Love, and to his exploits, that the most conclusive similitude exists;— ‘Nay, if Cupid have not spent all his quiver in Venice, thou wilt quake for this shortly’ [I. i. 273–4]. Beatrice, in the very opening, says of Benedick — ‘He set up his bills here in Messina and challenged Cupid at the flight; and my uncle’s fool, reading the challenge, subscribed for Cupid, and challenged him at the bird-bolt’ [I. i. 39–42]. Cupid’s *bird-bolt*! see the parallel phrase quoted above. Then, again, where Don Pedro is pluming himself upon his clever stratagem to lime Benedick, he exclaims:— ‘If we can do this, Cupid is no longer an archer: his glory shall be ours, for we are the only love-gods’ [II. i. 400–2].

“But, as if in contrast to this foolish assumption, Hero, who plays off the same trick upon Beatrice, takes no part of the credit to herself:— she is one of the initiated; she has herself felt the power of the bird-bolt and knows well who sent it:— ‘Of this matter is little Cupid’s crafty arrow made, that only wounds by hearsay’ [III. i. 21–3]. And again:— ‘Some Cupid kills with arrows, some with traps’ [III. i. 106].

"One more of these allusions need only be added, and that principally for the sake of explaining an expression which has been much misunderstood. In the [second] Scene of the third Act, Don Pedro says of Benedick: — 'He hath twice or thrice cut Cupid's bow-string, and the little hangman dare not shoot at him' [III. ii. 10-2]. Here 'hangman' . . . plainly means *slaughterer*! a very appropriate epithet for Cupid. . . .

"Thus the epithet 'little hangman' designating, as it does when properly explained, Love as the slaughterer of hearts, directly corroborates the general hypothesis, that 'Love's Labour,' in the titles of these two plays, has mythological reference to the exploits of the god."

It will perhaps help us in estimating the plausibility of Brae's contention if we note that the name Cupid occurs ten times in "Love's Labour's Lost," nine times in "Much Ado," eight times in "A Midsummer-Night's Dream," and not more than twice in any other one of the plays printed as comedies in the First Folio. None of the references in "A Midsummer-Night's Dream" seems significant. Three of them concern Cupid's *lost* labor in trying to wound the "fair vestal throned by the west" (II. i. 155-68). In another, "Dian's bud" breaks the spell that had been wrought by "Cupid's flower" (IV. i. 78-9). The remaining passages in which the name of the love-god appears do not suggest that "A Midsummer-Night's Dream" is the much sought for "Love's Labour's Won" (I. i. 169, 235; III. ii. 103, 440).

Of the ten passages in "Love's Labour's Lost" which mention the name of Cupid, three seem not

to be significant (I. ii. 67 ; II. i. 254 ; IV. iii. 58).
The others follow, so far as they have not been
already cited : —

“ *Armado*. . . . Cupid’s butt-shaft is too hard for Hercules’
club ; and therefore too much odds for a Spaniard’s rapier.”

I. ii. 181-3.

“ *Biron*. And I, forsooth, in love ! I, that have been love’s whip ;
A very beadle to a humorous sigh ;
A critic, nay, a night-watch constable ;
A domineering pedant o’er the boy ;
Than whom no mortal so magnificent !
This whimped, whining, purblind, wayward boy ;
This senior-junior, giant-dwarf, Dan Cupid ;
Regent of love-rhymes, lord of folded arms,
The anointed sovereign of sighs and groans,
Liege of all loiterers and malcontents,
Dread prince of plackets, king of codpieces,
Sole imperator and great general
Of trotting ’paritors : — O my little heart ! —
And I to be a corporal of his field,
And wear his colours like a tumbler’s hoop !
What, I ! I love ! I sue ! I seek a wife !
.

And I to sigh for her ! to watch for her !
To pray for her ! Go to ; it is a plague
That Cupid will impose for my neglect
Of his almighty dreadful little might.”

III. i. 175-91, 202-5.

“ *Rosaline*. Madam, came nothing else along with that ?

Princess. Nothing but this ! yes, as much love in rhyme
As would be cramm’d up in a sheet of paper,
Writ o’ both sides the leaf, margent and all,
That he was fain to seal on Cupid’s name.”

V. ii. 5-9.

“ *Boyet*. Prepare, madam, prepare !
Arm, wenches, arm ! encounters mounted are
Against your peace : Love doth approach disguised,
Armed in arguments ; you ’ll be surprised :

Muster your wits ; stand in your own defence ;
Or hide your heads like cowards, and fly hence.

Princess. Saint Denis to Saint Cupid ! What are they
That charge their breath against us ? say, scout, say."

V. ii. 81-8.

One of the mentions of Cupid in "Much Ado" is non-significant (I. i. 186). One of those already cited, however, has even more force than Brae indicates if we note the entire context : —

"*Don Pedro.* I shall see thee, ere I die, look pale with love.

Benedick. With anger, with sickness, or with hunger, my lord, not with love : prove that ever I lose more blood with love than I will get again with drinking, pick out mine eyes with a ballad-maker's pen and hang me up at the door of a brothel-house for the sign of blind Cupid.

Don Pedro. Well, if ever thou dost fall from this faith, thou wilt prove a notable argument.

.

Don Pedro. Nay, if Cupid have not spent all his quiver in Venice, thou wilt quake for this shortly.

Benedick. I look for an earthquake too, then."

I. i. 249-58, 273-5.

Brae has certainly made out a plausible case for his explanation of the words "Love's Labour's Lost." The interpretation which he gives is natural and unforced. Still, the same may be said for the usual understanding of the title.

Brae makes much of the similarity of Benedick and Beatrice in "Much Ado" to Biron and Rosaline in "Love's Labour's Lost" : —

"So striking is the resemblance of design and treatment in both pairs, that without any view to the present question, they have long been spoken of as *first sketch* and *finished portrait*. But by the present hypothesis, which assumes that these two plays were designed for

COMPANION PICTURES, under titles differing only in denouement, the judgement is at once relieved from the necessity of regarding them as repetitions, or of supposing that the inexhaustible Shakespeare would recur to his old materials for re-working in another form."

The last sentence is unfortunate in view of the fact that Shakespeare was constantly repeating his characters and situations in other forms. The amount of dramatic material in "The Winter's Tale" that had been used in previous plays is really astonishing to one who examines the comedy carefully with this in mind.

"But there is also apparent design," says Brae, "in the *contrasts*, as well as in the similitudes presented by these two plays. In one the prevailing feature is rhyme, in the other prose; in one the phraseology is obscure and euphuistic, in the other remarkably plain and colloquial."

In short," in the words of Mr. Sludge, the Medium, "a hit proves much, a miss proves more." Here Brae has unwittingly turned his shafts against himself. Perhaps nothing quite so effective has elsewhere been said against his hypothesis.

Parallel passages are cited "for the purpose of showing that the two plays were probably written about the same time," but these are not numerous enough to have much force.

The ingenuity and plausibility of Brae's argument caused Fleay to abandon the view of Coleridge, which, as already noted, he had supported in 1874 and 1876. In 1877, he declared that Brae

had shown that "Much Ado" "is almost certainly the same as 'Love's Labour's Won.'" In 1886 he was less positive. In 1891 he thought "Much Ado" "probably a rewritten version of 'Love's Labour's Won.'" ¹ The additional arguments by which Fleay attempted in 1886 to strengthen Brae's view are ingenious but not valuable. However, the fine sarcasm with which Furness refutes one of these is so delicious that it cannot be said to have lived in vain.²

VII. "THE TAMING OF THE SHREW"

The view that is now to engage our attention was put forward by Craik in 1857. Omitting most of what he says concerning a manuscript emendation in the Collier folio, his argument runs as follows:—

"May not the true 'Love's Labour's Won' be what we now call 'The Taming of the Shrew'? That play is founded upon an older one called 'The Taming of a Shrew'; it is therefore in the highest degree improbable that it was originally produced under its present name. The designation by which it is now known, in all likelihood, was only given to it after its predecessor had been driven from the stage, and had come to be generally forgotten. Have we not that which it previously bore indicated in one of the restorations of Mr. Collier's MS.

¹ *Introduction to Shakespearian Study* (London and Glasgow, 1877), pp. 23, 25. *The Life and Work of William Shakespeare* (London, 1886), pp. 204, 205. *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642*, 2 vols. (London, 1891), vol. ii. p. 182.

² Variorum edition of *Much Ado*, pp. xviii, xix.

annotator, who directs us, in the last line but one of the Second Act, instead of 'in this case of *wooing*' to read 'in this case of *winning*.' . . . The play is, besides, full of other repetitions of the same key-note. Thus, in the second Scene of Act I., when Hortensio informs Gremio that he had promised Petrucio, if he would become suitor to Katharine, that they 'would be contributors, And bear his charge of wooing, whatsoe'er,' Gremio answers, 'And so we will, provided that he win her' [I. ii. 215-7]. In the fifth Scene of Act IV., when the resolute Veronese has brought the shrew to a complete submission, Hortensio's congratulation is, 'Petrucio, go thy ways; the field is won' [IV. v. 23]. So in the concluding scene the lady's father exclaims, 'Now, fair befall thee, good Petrucio! The wager thou hast won;' to which the latter replies, 'Nay, I will win my wager better yet' [V. ii. 111, 112, 116]. And his last words in passing from the stage, as if in pointed allusion to our supposed title of the piece, are —

'T was I won the wager, though you [Lucentio] hit the white;
And, being a winner, God give you good night !'

V. ii. 186, 187.

"The title of 'Love's Labour's Won,' it may be added, might also comprehend the underplot of Lucentio and Bianca, and even that of Hortensio and the Widow, though in the case of the latter it might rather be supposed to be the lady who should be deemed the winning party." ¹

Hertzberg tells us that Emil Palleske ² and E. W.

¹ George L. Craik, *The English of Shakespeare* (London, 1857), pp. 8, 9, note. The passage is omitted from the American edition.

² In the case of Palleske no reference is given, and it has been impossible to find at Harvard University or the Boston Public Library the book or article concerned.

Sievers preceded himself in Germany in identifying "Love's Labour's Won" with "The Taming of the Shrew." The argument of Sievers will be given later. Hertzberg points out in favor of the theory before us that "The Taming of the Shrew" is not in Meres's list by its own name, although it is among the most youthful productions of Shakespeare; that Petruchio has an abundance of labor in winning the desired result; and that, though the title "Love's Labour's Won" does not apply perfectly and for all the suitors, the companion title "Love's Labour's Lost" is by no means an entirely happy description of the action of that comedy.¹

Boas inclines to the view of Hertzberg, both in the latter's argument opposing "All's Well" and in that favoring "The Taming of the Shrew," "while admitting that the question has not been quite conclusively settled."²

Shakespearean scholars are pretty well agreed that "The Taming of the Shrew" was in existence when Meres's list was written. However, we will glance for a moment at the evidence concerning the date of composition. It is generally accepted also that only the shrew story itself in this comedy is by Shakespeare, and that the under-plot is not his.³

¹ *Shakespeares dramatische Werke, nach der Uebersetzung von Schlegel und Tieck. herausgegeben durch die deutsche Sh.-Gesellschaft, 2te Aufl. 1897; Einleitung zu Ende gut, Alles gut, vol. xi. p. 355.*

² *Shakspeare and His Predecessors* (New York, 1896), p. 345, n.

³ See in this book, pp. 213, 229, 241.

The supposed allusions in the play and to the play by means of which attempts have been made to determine the date of "The Taming of the Shrew" are entirely inconclusive.¹ Remembering the "inveterate skepticism" of Delius concerning most of the allusions used to establish the dates of plays,² and the exposure which Furness has recently made of their untrustworthiness in the case of "Twelfth Night,"³ let us look for better evidence.

The fact that the comedy called "The Taming of a Shrew" was published in 1594 does not help very directly in determining the date of our play. "The Shrew" and "A Shrew" (as it will be convenient to call the two plays) are closely related. The taming story is the same in both, and there are also remarkable agreements in language, extending even to insignificant phrases. The underplots of the two comedies are decidedly different. The usual view is that Shakespeare took not only his main plot from "A Shrew," but also the language, where that is common to the two plays. But this view has not been proved.

The testimony of the versification would place Shakespeare's part of "The Shrew" very early in his career as a writer. König⁴ finds the play to have a smaller percentage of run-on lines (*enjambements*)

¹ See the writer's longer paper, "Shakespeare's Part in 'The Taming of the Shrew,'" *Publications of Modern Language Association*, vol. v. pp. 211-3.

² Preface to the *Leopold Shakspeare*, London.

³ Preface to Variorum edition of *Twelfth Night* (Philadelphia, 1901), pp. vii-xi.

⁴ *Der Vers in Shaksperes Dramen* (Strassburg, 1888), p. 133.

than any other. Moreover, in those parts of the play which are accepted as Shakespeare's, the run-on lines are less numerous than elsewhere. Of all the so-called metrical tests, this one of the frequency of run-on lines, "the stopt-line test," seems to be the most important. This importance is due both to its organic character, its close relation to the changing thought and style of the poet, and also to the large number of lines concerned in determining the percentage for each play.

The small amount of rhyme in Shakespeare's part of "The Shrew"¹ speaks against giving to the play so early a date as "the stopt-line test" would indicate; but the metrical evidence as a whole is plainly in favor of a date before 1598. The links which Furnivall points out between "The Shrew" and the other dramas concern plays that are in Meres's list, especially "The Comedy of Errors."² The accepted opinion that "The Shrew" was in existence when Meres's book was written is therefore well founded.

A struggle for supremacy between a wife and husband was a favorite theme in mediæval story. The Wife of Bath and the Merchant's Wife, in Chaucer, are examples of assertive shrews. The half-morality "Tom Tyler and His Wife," which gives an amusing account of an attempt to tame a shrew, was probably printed in 1578.³

¹ *Publications of Modern Language Association*, vol. v. pp. 269, 270.

² Intro. to *Leopold Shakspeare*, p. xliv.

³ Reprinted by F. E. Schelling from the 2d ed., 1661, in the *Publications of Modern Language Association*, vol. xv. pp. 253-89.

"The Taming of the Shrew" is usually said to have appeared in print for the first time in the Folio of 1623. It was also printed in quarto form in 1631. Some years ago Mr. Quaritch, the London bookseller, offered for sale a quarto copy of this play which did not contain the leaf bearing the date, but which he believed to have been printed before the First Folio.¹ "The Taming of a Shrew" was printed in 1594, 1596, and 1607. Since the taming story is substantially the same in both plays, all of these impressions may be reckoned together as showing the popularity of this story. This play was the only comedy of Shakespeare to call out a dramatic retort after his death; and the existence of this companion piece, Fletcher's "The Woman's Prize, or, The Tamer Tamed," of itself makes it certain that our play had been a favorite. In 1633 Shakespeare's comedy was performed at court on the night of November 26, and Fletcher's on November 28. Fletcher's piece seems to have been generally called by its second name, "The Tamer Tamed," undoubtedly, as Weber observes, in order "to approximate the title to that of Shakespeare's play."² "The Taming of the Shrew" was revived at the Restoration. The Dutch version of 1654 is "the earliest extant translation of any Shakespearean play."³ In Germany this comedy has been

¹ *Bankside Shakespeare*, vol. ii. (New York, 1888), p. 4.

² *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher*, ed. by A. Dyce (Boston, 1854), vol. ii. p. 178.

³ "De dolle Bruyloft" is the title. See article by J. Bolte, *Jahrbuch of the German Shakespeare Society*, vol. xxvi. pp. 78, 79.

many times refashioned. Whatever may have been the form of the play spoken of in 1658 as "Die wunderbare Heurath Petruvio, mit der bösen Catharine,"¹ an adaptation of Shakespeare's play called "Kunst über alle Künste, ein bös Weib gut zu machen," appeared in 1672, and is "the earliest impression of a German version of an entire Shakespearean piece."² Later adaptations are: "Christian Weise's 'Die böse Katharina,' 1705; Schink's 'Die bezähmte Wiederbellerin,' 1781, and Holbein's 'Liebe kann Alles,' 1822; finally the now current version by Deinhardstein."³

In Germany at the present day this comedy enjoys a surpassing popularity. From the annual statistics given in the "Jahrbücher" of the German Shakespeare Society we learn that, during the four years 1885-8, "The Taming of the Shrew" was played 297 times in the usual version, and 153 times in the Holbein adaptation, 'Liebe kann Alles,' a total of 450 times. No other play of Shakespeare was so popular. "Othello" and "Hamlet" come next with 414 and 347 performances in the same period. In 1895 "Othello" was presented 114 times and "The Taming of the Shrew" 104 times, out of a total of 774 Shakespearean performances. In the same year "Liebe kann Alles" was acted "about 30 times." In 1900, out of a total of 713 perform-

¹ Introduction to Köhler's edition of *Kunst über alle Künste*, etc. (Berlin, 1864), p. ix.

² Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany* (London, 1865), p. cxxiv.

³ Herford, *Eversley Shakespeare*, vol. ii. (London, 1899), pp. 11, 12.

ances for all the plays of Shakespeare, "Othello" was acted 96 times; "Hamlet" and "Romeo and Juliet," each 83 times; "The Taming of the Shrew," 78 times. No account was kept of the presentation of "Liebe kann Alles."

In the United States "The Taming of the Shrew" has always enjoyed a good degree of public favor, but not the abounding measure bestowed upon it in Germany.

Various comedies of the age of Elizabeth and James besides those already mentioned deal with the general topic of shrewish and unmanageable wives; and a number of more modern plays have either been adapted from "The Taming of the Shrew" or suggested by it.¹

The accepted early date of "The Taming of the Shrew," and its extraordinary and continuous popularity, force us to ask the question: How could such a play be omitted from Meres's list? The only purpose of the list was to establish the claim that Shakespeare was "most excellent in both kinds [tragedy and comedy] for the stage." How could Meres omit this play with its mastery of comic technique? — this play which goes off with such captivating vigor on the stage, which has such an abundance of broad and even farcical comedy for the crowd, and also suggestions of deeper truth for the thoughtful? "No other play of Shakespeare," says Herford, "has come home like 'The

¹ See Talcott Williams's "Bibliography of 'The Taming of the Shrew,'" *Shakespeariana*, vol. v. pp. 445-56, 497-513.

Taming of 'the Shrew' to the business and bosoms of average men and husbands." ¹ Must we believe that this comedy was omitted by Meres?

Herford thinks that Meres's failure to include "The Shrew" does not show that the comedy was not in existence. It may have been omitted because it was "so largely not Shakespeare's." Von Westenholz takes the same line of explanation when he points out that, because of the great similarity "between 'A Shrew' and 'The Shrew,' it was not appropriate for Meres to cite the latter play as a proof of Shakespeare's preëminence as a dramatist, and that 'Henry VI.,' which was also omitted, presented a similar difficulty." ²

The agreements already noted between the language of "A Shrew" and "The Shrew" have a bearing upon this discussion. Are we to believe that these similarities are due to the fact that Shakespeare borrows freely from the already existing play, "A Shrew"? If so, it is just the most successful and the most intensely Shakespearean parts of "The Shrew" which are taken from the other play; and this borrowing marks not only the plot but also the language. The especial difficulty concerns the language; for it seems absurd to think of Shakespeare as following another writer in the minute and unimportant phrases that are common to the two plays.³ There

¹ *Eversley Shakespeare*, vol. ii. p. 10.

² *Englische Studien*, vol. xxxii. p. 413.

³ See pp. 210-2 of this book.

is no difficulty really like this in all Shakespearean study. "King John" follows very closely the action and general plan of the older play, "The Troublesome Reign of King John," but not the language. Parts II. and III. of "Henry VI." freely appropriate passages from the two older plays on which they are based; but many Shakespearean scholars believe that in doing this the dramatist, on the whole, only took again what he had himself contributed to the earlier plays. But the minute verbal agreements between "The Shrew" and "A Shrew" have been generally explained by supposing that Shakespeare appropriated freely the language of another, even unimportant bits of prose. Every student of Shakespeare knows how easily he transformed the materials which he took for his own use; and it is hard to think of him as appropriating the ordinary prose phrases of another in this wholesale fashion. The true explanation may well be that in some way another man had previously borrowed the language of Shakespeare, and that in "The Shrew" the dramatist only reclaims his own.

More than twenty years ago, Professor Bernhard ten Brink expressed the opinion that "The Shrew" is the revision of a youthful work of Shakespeare, and that "A Shrew" was based directly on this youthful piece. This would make the writer of "A Shrew," and not Shakespeare, the borrower. Ten Brink's words are, in translation: —

"I consider 'The Taming of a Shrew' neither a youthful production of Shakespeare, nor the source used by him, nor, finally, a recasting of Shakespeare's comedy as it is found in the Folio. According to my view, 'The Taming of a Shrew' and the Folio drama of almost the same name go back to a common source. This original was a youthful production of Shakespeare, which differed from the later version especially in the fact that the element derived from 'The Supposes' was still wanting to its simpler intrigue. Lack of space prevents the proving of this hypothesis. For the present suffice it to say that it affords a compromise between the older views, in a way reconciles them, and is not open to the objections which have been raised against each of them."¹

If we assume for the moment that the hypothesis of ten Brink is true, it is natural to suggest that this youthful work of Shakespeare bore the name of "Love's Labour's Won," that then an unauthorized adaptation of this early piece became popular under the name "The Taming of a Shrew," and that later Shakespeare's play was revised to meet this competition and received its present title. This new name, "The Taming of *the* Shrew," involved, we may suppose, a claim to the rightful ownership of the common material.

Ten Brink's hypothesis is highly speculative, and can probably never be really proved. Yet it would explain many difficulties; and among these the following may be mentioned: —

¹ "Ueber den Sommernachtstraum," *Jahrbuch* of the German Shakespeare Society, vol. xiii. p. 94.

1. The agreements between the language of "The Shrew" and "A Shrew."

2. The remarkable borrowings from Marlowe and imitations of him which abound in "A Shrew."¹ The borrower takes freely from both the great dramatists.

3. The early date given to Shakespeare's part of "The Shrew" by the stopt-line test.

4. The remarkable excellence of "A Shrew," its author being called by Swinburne "of all the pre-Shakespeareans incomparably the truest, the richest, the most powerful and original humorist."²

5. The view of Pope, Capell, and Frey, the Bankside editor, that Shakespeare wrote "A Shrew."

6. The use made of "The Supposes," a play translated by Gascoigne from the Italian of Ariosto, and played in 1566. As the present writer has shown elsewhere,³ the under-plot of "The Shrew" is decidedly superior to that of "A Shrew," and appropriates much more material from "The Supposes." It is very unlikely that Shakespeare's play in its present form was before the writer of "A Shrew." Ten Brink and Herford⁴ seem to be in error in thinking that "A Shrew" takes nothing from "The Supposes."⁵

¹ *Publications of Modern Language Association*, vol. v. pp. 239-47.

² Cited by Bullen, *The Works of Marlowe* (Boston, 1885), vol. i. p. lxxvi.

³ *Publications of Modern Language Association*, vol. v. pp. 215-27.

⁴ *Eversley Shakespeare*, vol. ii. pp. 6, 7.

⁵ Cf. p. 209.

7. If the identification of "Love's Labour's Won" with "The Shrew" be added to the suggestion of ten Brink, we see a reason for the giving up of the title "Love's Labour's Won," and we also get an explanation of the remarkable agreement between the titles of "A Shrew" and "The Shrew." If "Love's Labour's Won" was an earlier name for "The Taming of the Shrew," the new title may well express the claim of the comedy to be the authoritative version of the shrew story. This theory concerning "Love's Labour's Won" offers, therefore, a definite reason for the dropping of that title. The strange similarity in the titles of "The Taming of *a* Shrew" and "The Taming of *the* Shrew" receives thus a natural explanation, and becomes significant.

Without trying to insist, then, upon all of the points in the hypothesis of ten Brink, we may suppose that "Love's Labour's Won" became at a later day "The Taming of the Shrew," whether or not a change in the form of the play accompanied this change of name.

Herford objects to the suggestion that "The Taming of the Shrew" can be connected with the title "Love's Labour's Won," because in this comedy "it is marital authority that labours and wins, not love."¹ It must be admitted that this point is a strong one; yet there are certain considerations which offset it in good measure.

First, it is not necessary to believe that Petru-

¹ Intro. to *All's Well*, *Eversley Shakespeare*, vol. iii. p. 114.

chio carries through his taming without any real affection for his Kate. The action begins unfortunately with a mercenary and emphatic choice of Katharine by Petruchio before he has seen her; at this point "A Shrew" is the better play. Still, we are undoubtedly intended to see that Kate needs to be tamed for her own permanent happiness; and it is only fair and natural to believe that below the pretense of Petruchio, "That all is done in reverend care of her" (IV. i. 217), lies the deeper fact that a real affection is winning a wise victory.

It is quite possible, also, that the title "Love's Labour's Won" was intended to have an ironical, a half-humorous application. The dramatist's thought may have been: "This is the kind of love that wins in this world, love that is fertile and daring in expedients, love that is combined with an energetic assertion of mastership." It is noticeable that the name of Holbein's adaptation of "The Shrew," "*Liebe kann Alles*," comes very close in meaning to the title "Love's Labour's Won."¹

Again, it is not at all necessary, in order to identify the two comedies, that "Love's Labour's Won" should be a good title for "The Shrew." There is some reason to think that "Love's Labour's Won" was a somewhat inappropriate name for the play that bore it. The companion title, "Love's Labour's Lost," is a poor designation for

¹ The writer regrets that he has no detailed information about *Liebe kann Alles*.

that comedy ; and if the dramatist abandoned the title "Love's Labour's Won," as is generally supposed, it too was probably an unsatisfactory name. The change of title may have come about both because the old designation, "Love's Labour's Won," was unsuitable, and because the new one, "The Taming of *the* Shrew," asserted Shakespeare's rightful ownership of this dramatic material. If the play was revised at the time it received the new name, then the change of title was especially natural and appropriate.

We have already noted those passages in "The Shrew" which seem to Craik to refer distinctly to its supposed earlier title. The expressions concerned, while not at all conclusive, certainly fit well with his interpretation.

The excellence of the Cade scenes in "II. Henry VI." makes it probable that Shakespeare wrote admirable comedy of a vigorous type very early in his career.

It must be frankly admitted that the correspondences and agreements in dramatic details which we fairly expect to find between two plays with such parallel titles, do not exist between "Love's Labour's Lost" and our proposed "Love's Labour's Won," "The Shrew." The claims of "Much Ado about Nothing" and "A Midsummer-Night's Dream" are much better supported at this point. However, the tone of the two plays is distinctly similar. There is in each about the same mixture of jest and earnest. Also, the fundamental thought,

the theme, in each play may be said to be a humorous presentation of what is normal and what abnormal in the relations between the sexes, considered apart from any question of vice. From this point of view these two plays may be said to be a group by themselves among the dramas of Shakespeare.

If we subdivide the fourteen plays that are printed in the First Folio as comedies, perhaps a classification that is as significant as any is that which separates them into what may be called tragi-comedies, romantic comedies, and pure comedies. "The Merchant of Venice" and "Measure for Measure" fall together as tragi-comedies, plays in which the action, after threatening for a time to end fatally, reaches a happy conclusion. After these come the romantic comedies, those which have a principal action that is in the main dignified and earnest, while the humorous element is especially prominent in connection with subordinate characters, or even in a separate subordinate action. This is Shakespeare's favorite type of comedy, and at least eight of our fourteen plays belong most naturally in this class. If we apply the term pure comedies to plays in which the central action is filled with humor, the four remaining plays will fall here. These are: "Love's Labour's Lost," "The Taming of the Shrew," "The Merry Wives of Windsor," and "The Comedy of Errors." It may be best to make a fourth class for "The Comedy of Errors," and call it a farce. This would be both because the

play puts impossibilities in the very foreground in order to excite laughter, and because its comedy of misunderstandings is almost entirely independent of the characters of those concerned, and often becomes the mere boisterous fun of unexpected beating or scolding. If we thus set this play by itself, three dramas remain in our class of pure comedies. One of these, "The Merry Wives," is generally believed not to have been in existence at the time when Meres wrote; though some think otherwise. The story that this play was written at the command of Queen Elizabeth is given both by Dennis and Rowe at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It may well go back to contemporary authority, and has been widely accepted. Rowe says: "She [Elizabeth] was so well pleas'd with that admirable character of Falstaff in the two parts of Henry the Fourth, that she commanded him [Shakespeare] to continue it for one play more, and to shew him in love. This is said to be the occasion of his writing the Merry Wives of Windsor."¹ If we do not question this account, then we have in "Love's Labour's Lost" and "The Taming of the Shrew" the only pure comedies which Shakespeare wrote of his own accord, and probably the only ones that were in existence when Meres's list was penned.

A very recent treatise in English upon the theory of the drama is that by Miss Woodbridge. She

¹ Cited in Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines*, etc., 10th ed. (London, 1898), vol. ii. p. 74.

makes much of the division of comedy into judicial, or satiric comedy, on the one hand, and non-judicial, or sympathetic comedy, on the other.¹ This distinction applies properly only to the comic elements in the plays. Jonson, as a comedian, is judicial, satiric, reformatory; Shakespeare is prevailingly non-judicial, sympathetic, genial. What fools *we* mortals be! This thought may be taken as the motto for Shakespeare's work as a humorous dramatist. Among the fourteen "comedies" of the First Folio, the following may be said to show in their humorous portions some approach to the judicial, satiric spirit: "Love's Labour's Lost," "The Taming of the Shrew," "The Merry Wives," "All's Well" (the story of Parolles), "Twelfth Night" (the story of Malvolio), and "The Tempest" (the conspiracy of Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo). Of these six plays, the first two were almost certainly in existence when Meres wrote, and probably only the first two. In "Love's Labour's Lost" and "The Shrew," also, the satire is more insistent and more sharply didactic than in the other cases. Here once more we find "Love's Labour's Lost" and "The Shrew" associated.

The above argument had been completed in the form given before the writer was able to get access to the work of E. W. Sievers, in which, in 1866, he advocated the identification of "The Taming of the Shrew" and "Love's Labour's Won." His

¹ *The Drama, Its Law, and Its Technique* (Boston, 1898), pp. 62-6, 162-74.

words supplement and enforce in a most effective way some things which have already been said : —

“ We come now to two comedies of the poet which arise from a radically different tendency of his intellectual life, ‘ Love’s Labour’s Lost ’ and ‘ The Taming of the Shrew.’ In these two pieces Shakespearean comedy approaches what is usually understood by the term comedy ; in fact, it is only single idiosyncrasies and weaknesses of mankind which the poet here scourges. Man, as he appears before us in these plays, is no longer the product of the factors of his own nature, working with the force of necessity, but is a free being ; the poet seeks him in the realm of his freedom, and the interest that moves the writer is his attempt to mark out the first and most general boundaries of this freedom, and to show man the way thereto. The poet appears in these pieces, therefore, in the capacity of the pedagogue, the teacher and mentor of mankind, and, full as they are of the most genial ebullitions, a deep ethical seriousness is ever in the background ; yes, in these two pieces, this seriousness at the close even suppresses the mood of innocent mirth, and thereby lifts the plays above the level of the ordinary comedy. However, we have wished here only to point out their general character, not the æsthetic value to which they might lay claim. In the latter respect, ‘ The Taming of the Shrew ’ ranks far below all other works of the poet, and can interest the modern man only because of its almost extravagant display of a wit that is somewhat coarse, to be sure, but none the less brilliant.

.

“ What then is more natural than to settle upon ‘ The Taming of the Shrew ’ [as the missing ‘ Love’s Labour’s Won ’], especially since Meres leaves just this piece

unmentioned in his list of Shakespearean dramas? The fact that it was composed at almost the same time as 'Love's Labour's Lost' . . . gives to this view additional support."¹

CONCLUSION

If we recur to the various criteria suggested in our introduction for testing the claim of any particular comedy of Shakespeare to be accepted as "Love's Labour's Won" under another name, it is clear that no one of the plays proposed satisfies them all in any convincing fashion. No one who has followed the foregoing discussion will wonder, therefore, that some scholars consider this problem to be insoluble. Dowden represented the opinion of many when he said hesitatingly: "'Love's Labour's Won' . . . may be a lost play of Shakespeare, or possibly, as has been conjectured, 'All's Well that Ends Well' in an earlier form may have borne this title."² Wendell goes farther still, and puts the plain truth in a plain way when he says: "The question can never be definitely settled."³ Unless some new evidence shall be discovered, this statement is just.

In trying to estimate briefly the comparative claims of the various views that have now been presented, it is extremely difficult to measure the force

¹ Translated from *William Shakespeare, Sein Leben und Dichten*, E. W. Sievers (Gotha, 1866), vol. i. pp. 329-31.

² *Introduction to Shakespeare* (London and New York, n. d.), p. 30.

William Shakspeare (New York, 1894), p. 246.

which should be given to the agreement between the order of the comedies as named by Meres and that in the First Folio. This coincidence was pointed out at the close of the discussion of "*A Midsummer-Night's Dream*."¹ If we look upon the coincidence in question as having great significance, then we shall be almost compelled to accept one of the first three views that have been presented; and among these the first one, which holds that "*Love's Labour's Won*" has disappeared, seems to be decidedly the most probable.

Since, however, it is always hazardous to judge Shakespearean questions on the evidence of cryptograms and mystic coincidences, in the few words which remain, this strange agreement will be disregarded.

Of the four views which hold that the play has come down to us under another name, the favorite theory, that which connects "*Love's Labour's Won*" with "*All's Well*," seems decidedly improbable, because of the striking unlikeness of "*All's Well*" in tone and spirit to "*Love's Labour's Lost*," the companion play. In spite of the considerations in favor of "*A Midsummer-Night's Dream*," which von Westenholz has ably presented, the fundamental difficulty of supposing that Meres names only five comedies in his list makes that view improbable. On the whole, if we are to find "*Love's Labour's Won*" among the plays that we now possess,

¹ See in this article, pp. 267-8.

the choice appears to lie between "Much Ado about Nothing" and "The Taming of the Shrew." The considerations in favor of "The Taming of the Shrew" are strong, and the attempt has here been made to present them with some fullness.

ENGLISH SURNAMES

ENGLISH SURNAMES ¹

WHAT'S in a name? As was remarked by a schoolboy who was ambitiously attempting to quote Shakespeare, "A nose by any other name would smell as much." There is a great deal to interest one, however, in names, even in those which are apparently the most arbitrary and meaningless of all, surnames.

Two points in connection with surnames have been of especial interest to the present writer: first, the record of former stages of civilization that is preserved for us in our surnames taken from occupations; and second, the illustrations of the laws of sound-change in the English language which are offered us by many surnames whose original forms are known. Perhaps no class of words show the phonetic laws of our language more plainly than do surnames. These names early and easily become *mere* names, having for their users no inherent meaning. Indeed, surnames *originate* by disregarding the meaning of some personal name. When a name given to a father in baptism as his personal name, or given to him by common consent as a descriptive designation, is applied to his children

¹ Reprinted from *The Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, vol. x. (1894-5).

and his children's children without reference to its original meaning, the name has become a surname. All surnames originate in this way. When a man who was originally called Robert's-son because the personal name of his father was Robert, has a child born to him to whom the name Robertson is given in disregard of the fact that its father's personal name is not Robert, then the name has become a surname. Because surnames have ceased to have any inherent meaning, their phonetic development has been very largely free from those disturbing influences of analogy which have often affected the ordinary words of the language. Later we shall note some illustrations of this point.

The first characters in Bible history — to begin at the beginning — have each a single name, Adam, Seth, Enoch. As the earth became more fully populated, individuals of the same name came to be distinguished from one another by additional names. These second names were personal and descriptive; they were not proper surnames. Joshua the son of Nun, Simon Barjonas, afterward called Simon Peter, Simon of Cyrene, and "Simon called Zelotes," are instances of these additional, personal names.

The well-known Roman system of naming was very elaborate. Let us put down a dot upon our sheet, and number it 1; around this dot as a centre let us draw first a smaller circle, numbered 3; and then a larger circle, numbered 2. The resulting figure will be a good symbol of the Roman system

of personal nomenclature. The person whom we call Cicero had for his full name Marcus Tullius Cicero. He was of the *family* of Cicero; this family was a division of the Tullian *stock*, or *clan*; the personal name of the great orator was Marcus. We must call him, for short, either Tully or Cicero; since there were many famous men named Marcus.



No surnames existed in Great Britain previous to the Norman Conquest. The second-names that are found before the Conquest are purely personal nicknames. No better examples of these can be found than those given in the table of the English kings: Harold Harefoot, Alfred the Great, Ethelred the Unready (=lacking in good counsel), Edward the Confessor, Edmund Ironside.

The Normans brought the use of surnames into England. The fashion was a new one in Normandy itself; and no surnames in the Teutonic nations were in use much before 1066. The Normans were proud of owning much land, and took their surnames from their large estates in Normandy or their new possessions in England. Bruce, Percy, Montgomery, and Montmorice are Norman place-names. The French *mont*, mountain, is seen in two of these. The use of surnames was at first confined to the nobility. The practice did not become general

among the common people of England until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

There are four great classes of surnames: first, place-names; second, those derived from the Christian or baptismal name of the father, or, in some cases, from that of the mother; third, surnames derived from occupation, rank, or official position; fourth, those which were originally nicknames. Rev. C. W. Bardsley gives the result of a careful analysis of all the names in the London Directory which begin with A, B, C, D, or E.¹ The total number of names examined was over 30,000. His figures are here changed into percentages.

Surnames originally place-names . .	37.5 per cent.
Derived from baptismal names . .	27. per cent.
From rank, office, or occupation . .	14.5 per cent.
Originally nicknames	10.2 per cent.
Foreign and doubtful	10.8 per cent.
	<hr/> 100.

In another work Mr. Bardsley says: "In England our *local* surnames are two-fifths of the whole. In France *patronymic* [baptismal] surnames are almost two-fifths of the whole."

Let us consider briefly each of the four great classes of surnames.

PLACE-NAMES

Names beginning with *At* come from a prepositional phrase; as, *At* (the) well, *At* (the) wood, *Atwater*, *Atterbury*, etc. *Nash* is from *atten-ash*,

¹ *English Surnames*, 3d ed.

i. e. at the ash. Local names of French origin often begin with Dela-, Del-, or Du-; as in Delamere, Delisle, Dupont. Van and Von are Dutch and German prefixes of place. Buren in Holland, for example, gives the name Van Buren. Wood, Shaw, Holt, Hurst (all having much the same meaning), Thwaite, Thorp(e), Den, Comb, Gate(s), Down(s), Croft, and Clough, are all local designations of known meaning. Many of them are used much more frequently as parts of compound words than as independent names; as in Bradshaw, Henshaw, Lyndhurst, Denman. An old but inaccurate proverb says:—

“In *ford*, in *ham*, in *ley* and *ton*,
The most of English surnames run.”

All such names are place-names. The independent, accented words *home* and *town* go back to the same words as do the unaccented suffixes *-ham* and *-ton*. Lee (a shelter) and lea (a pasture) explain *-ley* as a suffix, and also the names Leigh, Lee, Lea, etc. *Lea* is also a Celtic river-name: we have one River Lea at London; another flows into Cork Harbor. Hence *Lee* as a place-name may have three separate sources. The names of small towns are more apt to furnish place-names than those of large cities like London. Such names were more distinctive, and the movement of population was toward the cities. We see the English counties in such names as Kent, Norfolk, Lincoln.

The syllable *-ing* was the Anglo-Saxon patro-

nymic suffix, meaning *son of*, and then *descendant of*. "A whole clan or tribe," says Isaac Taylor, "claiming to be descended from a real or mythic progenitor, or a body of adventurers attaching themselves to the standard of some chief, were thus distinguished by a common patronymic or *clan* name."¹ The Anglo-Saxons seem to have settled in England by families; and these clan-names gave rise to place-names, such as Barking, Dorking, Hastings, Kensington, Wellington, and Banningham. More than one tenth of the towns and villages of England contain this syllable in their names. These places have in turn produced surnames. The clan-names of the Scotch have passed into surnames directly, without first becoming place-names.

SURNAMES FROM BAPTISMAL NAMES

The custom of giving to a child the Christian name of the father with the word *-son* or *-daughter* added thereto, as a personal, descriptive second-name, has been a favorite one in Scandinavian countries. This custom was recently observed in the Shetland Islands, where the inhabitants are of Norwegian blood; and it may still be in force there. The names John Magnus'-son and Magnus Johnson, for example, marked successive generations in Shetland. A sister of Magnus Johnson, if named Mary, would be known as "Mary, John's-daughter." Such a fluctuation as this marked the first

¹ *Words and Places*, p. 83.

use of patronymic names in *-son* in England and Scotland. For example, Richard Johnson, son of John Richardson, is named in an English document of 1402. The possessive (')s has the same meaning as *-son*, as in Williams.

I cite a passage from a standard work concerning the use of such names at the present time in Norway and Sweden : —

“ I alighted at a farm called Husum [in southwestern Norway], and was welcomed by old Roar Halvorsen and his family, which consisted of Roar Roarsen, his eldest son, Haagen, Iver, Halvor, and Pehr, and two daughters, Sönneva and Sigrid. The way of keeping family names is very peculiar among the bönder [farmers] of Norway and Sweden. For instance, the head of the family of Husum is Roar Halvorsen (Roar, the son of Halvor) ; the eldest son, as we have seen, is called Roar Roarsen ; and all the other children, whatever the first names may be, have added the name of Roarsen or Roar's datter ; then the eldest grandson's name goes back to that of the grandfather, and by this method the family name is preserved for generations.”¹

This method of naming has not failed to reach the United States. There are many Scandinavians in the United States whose last names are not proper surnames, or at least were not given to them as such. For example, Mr. Holver Thompson, a Norwegian, the son of Thomas Holverson, died at Doylestown, Wis., in 1891.

By a patronymic surname is meant the personal

¹ Du Chaillu, *Land of the Midnight Sun*, 1881, vol. i. p. 391.

name of the father used, either alone or with some prefix or suffix, as the surname of a son and then of the descendants of that son. A large number of the most common surnames that we have are of this class, such as Jones (John's), Davi(d)s, Williamson, Johnson, etc. Keyes comes from Caius. The occasional spelling Kyes marks an attempt to prevent the name from being pronounced improperly on the pattern of the word *key*.

It would be useless for me to mention one in a hundred of the common appellations of this class; but a few facts firmly grasped will enable any one to understand a vast number of names which will be left unnoticed.

The Scotch and Irish prefixes Mc- and Mac-; Ap-, a Welsh prefix; and Fitz-, a Norman one; all mean *son of*. The Anglo-Saxon patronymic suffix *-ing* has already been mentioned. The Irish O' is said to mean properly grandson of, as in O'Brien, *grandson of Brien*. The O' represents a Celtic word, not the English *of*. Perhaps the presence of the Welsh prefix Ap- explains as large a number of otherwise inexplicably disguised surnames as any other single fact. The names Parry and Barry (from Ap-Harry), Perry (Ap-Henry), Bowen (Ap-Owen), Pritchard (Ap-Richard), Bevan (Ap-Evan), Bethel (Ap-Ithel), Powell (Ap-Howell), suggest the way in which many more words are explained. The present professor of Celtic at Oxford University is named Rhys. This name is said to mean rushing, impetuous (compare

English Swift); it explains our Reese, Breese (from Ap-Rhys), and many similar forms. The same name taken into English before our long *i* took its modern diphthongal sound (*i. e.* before the fifteenth century), explains Rice, Price, Brice, Bryce, etc. The royal name of Tudor is a Welsh form of Theodore.

The Old-English (Anglo-Saxon) personal names were abandoned for the most part at the time of the Norman Conquest; Edward and Edmund were perhaps the most common ones that remained. Norman personal names, including many names of saints from the church calendar, now came into use. Hence, these are the main source of our patronymic surnames.

After the Norman Conquest the fashion of making *pet-names* out of common personal names became universal. We are all familiar with this tendency to-day; but nothing that we now know can give us any idea of the vast number of pet-forms which at that time were made from well-known personal names, or of the extent to which they were used. The diminutive and affectionate suffixes *-ie* or *-y* (still in use), *-kin*, *-cock*, *-ot* or *-et*, *-on*, *-en* or *-in*, were in constant use, and help us to unriddle many a strange-looking surname. Wills, Willy, Willis, Wilson, Wil(lia)mot, Willot, Willet(s), Wilkins, Wilkes, Wilkinson, Wilcox (-cocks), Wilcoxson, are all names which go back to different pet-forms of the name William. Hewett (Hugh), Collins (Col, from Nicholas), and

Simpkins (Sim, from Simeon) are as plain as they are common.

The fashion of making rhyming pet-forms will explain many more names. Rob, Bob, Hob, and Dob are derived in this way from Robert. Hence such names as Bobson, Hobbs, Hobson, Hopkins, Dobbs, etc., are as clear as Roberts and Robinson; and we must add to our list of common names derived from William, — Bill, Bills, Billson, Gilson, etc. Ralph has many names connected with it through pet-forms that are not at first clear, such as Rawson, Rawlin(g)(s), Randall, Rollins, etc.; and Richard has some names that no one would at first thought assign to it, such as Rix, Rickson, Dix, Dixon (Dick's son), Dickens, Hitchcock. Bates, Batty, Bartlett, and many other forms go back to Bartholomew.

Drew, Warin (giving Warren, etc.), Paine, Ivo, and Hamon (giving Hammond), are some personal names that were common after the Conquest, but are now out of use.

The Crusades gave a great impulse to the use of the name John, with reference to John the Baptist. John was the most common English personal name from 1300 to 1700. The other name of the Baptist, Elias, also became very popular; Ellis, Elliot, Elkins, etc., show this. The river Jordan, inseparably associated with John's labors, became a popular personal name, and then a surname. Judd (giving Judson) is thought to be a pet-form of the word.

Jack (French *Jaques*, *Jacques*, from Latin *Jaco-*

bus) was not properly a pet-form of John, but was always looked upon in England as a more familiar form of that most common of names. Hence Jack is found everywhere in our common speech, and shows us how natural, even instinctive, the process of personification is to the popular mind. We have Jack everywhere in folk-tales, in Mother Goose, and in popular proverbs. We have such words as jackanapes, Jack-o'-lantern (the rival name William appears in the rival term Will-o'-the-wisp), Jack-of-all-trades, jack-ass, jack-daw, jack-knife, boot-jack, jack-et, and so on through an endless list. Jackson is a very common surname.

Some names are *metronymics*, or surnames made from the personal name of the mother. Adoption, posthumous birth, the higher rank of the mother, and similar causes explain the origin of these names; but undoubtedly they were often applied to illegitimate children. Emmett (Em), Sisson (Siss, from Cicely, Cecilia), Tillotson (Til, from Matilda), and Nelson, are common metronymics.

The Puritan movement brought in a change in the fashion of personal names almost as marked as that following the Norman Conquest. Old Testament names, the Christian graces, and motto-names, which were often condensed prayers (Standfast, Livewell), indicate the new fashion. But surnames were already fixed, and some additional personal names, such as Josiah, Rachel, Hope, Faith, and Prudence, are all that is left us from that convulsion in our nomenclature. Said one writer, with

amusing exaggeration : " Cromwell hath beat up his drums clean through the Old Testament ; you may know the genealogy of our Saviour by the names of his regiment. The muster master hath no other list than the first chapter of St. Matthew."

It should be said that the use of two Christian names, now so common, was an unusual thing before 1800. The heroes of the Revolution were content with two names each, including the surname. George Washington and Thomas Jefferson are examples. These names serve merely for the beginning of some modern names.

SURNAMES OF RANK, OFFICE, AND OCCUPATION

From the frequency of the name King, one might think that "kinging it" was at one time a very common occupation in England ; but the name is, of course, always a nickname, having at least three different sources, and belongs properly in the next class. In the first place, a person with a haughty bearing sometimes found himself dubbed King, much against his will.

The name of Shakespeare's comedy "Twelfth Night" calls to mind the festivities which marked the twelfth day after Christmas, or Epiphany. The three wise men, whose visit to the Saviour was commemorated at that time, were known in legend as "the three kings." A person who took the part of one of these royal visitors in a rude Twelfth-Night representation of the coming of the Magi, might henceforward be called King. The four great

English cycles of religious plays also, containing the entire world history from The Fall of Lucifer to Doomsday, have each a representation of The Three Kings. A fifth version from the English Middle Ages makes a part of the Coventry pageant of The Nativity, played by the Shearmen and Taylors.

Again, the old English custom of marking shops as well as inns with some distinctive sign, and the known popularity of "crowned heads" for use upon signboards, makes it almost certain that King sometimes meant originally at-the-sign-of-the-king.

Of the names derived from occupation, a few are selected which need special explanation. Day means dairyman. Chapman means the same as merchant (Kaufmann); his goods were *cheap*. Clark was a clergyman, or one who, like a clergyman (clericus), was a scholar. The Barbers were also surgeons. Fletcher was an arrow-maker (*la flèche*, an arrow). Scribner was a professional writer of legal documents (scrivener). The Arkwright made the great chests, called "arks," in which the family valuables were kept; or less elaborate ones used as bins for the family flour. Bagster and Baxter (bake-ster) were plain Bakers; -ster originally denoted a woman, as in spin-ster, but lost that special meaning.

Let us put together names that come from the manufacture of cloth. These will help us to call back a time when homespun cloth was manufactured in every part of England. The Spinners and

spinsters spun the thread. The spinsters, as such, have not given us a surname. The Webbs, Websters, and Weavers wove the thread into cloth. The Fullers trod the cloth with the feet in cleansing it; hence a common name for a fuller was Walker. Walker may sometimes be a nickname; the mighty leader of the Normans was called Hrolf (Rollo) the Ganger (=walker). The Tuckers and Tuckermen were engaged in the manufacture of cloth (cp. the German *Tuch*); but whether they were weavers or fullers is uncertain; probably they were weavers. If the cloth was sold to merchants, it came into the hands of Drapers, Mercers, Chapmen, Merchants, Marchants, etc.

Bailey, Baillie, was a bailiff. The ancestor of the royal family of Stewart was the Lord High *Steward* of Scotland under Malcolm III. The origin of the surname was not forgotten even at the time of James VI. (afterwards James I. of England); at least he was described at his coronation as "Prince and Stewart of Scotland."

NICKNAMES

The first point to be made in considering this interesting class of names is that they were given by acquaintances, not selected by the ones whom they designated. It is plain that no man ever chose to be known to the world as Wild, Savage, Crook-shank(s) (Cruikshank is the Scotch spelling), or Longfellow. Hog(g) may have taken his name from the picture on the sign before his door,

but undoubtedly in some cases he was dubbed with an opprobrious nickname.

Ames is from an old word meaning uncle. Power(s) is a doublet of Poor.

In considering the names that came from the complexion, or in some cases from the hair, we are surprised that *redness* of face or hair seems to be unregistered in our common names. But Read, Reed, Reid, etc., are abundant evidence that persons with red hair, or with a ruddy complexion, were not wanting in the Middle Ages.

None of the comments that I have seen upon this name *Read* clearly states the fact that *red* is the word that has been irregular in its development. *Read* is the regular phonetic successor of the Middle-English word *reed*, in the indefinite form of the adjective, or *rede* in the definite form. Either of these spellings in a well-spelled Middle-English MS. means that the vowel *-ee-*, *-e-*, is long in quantity. This word should regularly give modern English *read*; as Middle-English *leef*, *leves*, has given modern English *leaf*, *leaves*. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries especially, long accented vowels became shortened before two or more consonants. Hence we have such different vowel-sounds in words from the same stem as we find in:—

wise

wisdom

white

Whitsunday, Whitman, Whitefield

But the influence of analogy has been constantly at work to obliterate the traces of the working of

this phonetic law. Usually we have what is called "leveling." All the forms take the same vowel-sound, either the long vowel of the simple word or the short vowel of the derivative or compound. Phonetic action is followed, so to speak, by a mental reaction, according to the law which Paul has fully illustrated in his "Principles of Language," to give the title of the English translation. In the following table, Anglo-Saxon forms are put in brackets; forms which are the result of leveling are put in parentheses : —

Read	redness	sheep	shepherd
	(red)	stone [stân]	Stanton
keep	kept	home [hâm]	Hamwell
	(friend)	(homeward)	Hampton
	friendly		Hampden
white	(sick)	broad [brâd]	Bradshaw
(whiteness)	sickness		Braddon
house [hûs]	husband		Bradford

One word in the list calls for comment. *Broad* should regularly have the same vowel-sound as *do stone* and *home*. I would suggest that *broad* has been influenced by the vowel of *long*, with which word it is closely associated in popular speech. "It's as *broad* as it is *long*." The fact that in the words *length* and *breadth* phonetic development has made the vowel sounds identical, may have helped: *length* is to *long* as *breadth* is to *broad*. A somewhat analogous influence of *far* upon *near* seems to have caused *near*, originally a comparative, to be looked upon as a positive.

Place-names and surnames sometimes contain a vowel which has remained short, though the simple word afterwards experienced vowel-lengthening.

old [from <i>âld</i> , lengthened according to rule from the Mercian <i>ald</i> . ¹ Modern English is derived from this Mercian, or Midland dialect. The Anglo-Saxon <i>eald</i> , cited in our dictionaries, is the West-Saxon form of the word.]	Aldgate Alden Alford
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Another illustration of the light which surnames throw upon the laws governing the history of English sounds is given if we ask the question, What is the sound in English to-day which represents an accented *er*+*consonant* in a word taken from French into English? The following words are a few of those which show this combination: —

merchant	Merchant, Marchant
person, parson	Parsons
clerk, English pronunciation <i>clark</i>	Clark

The surnames Parsons and Clark seem to show what is the regular sound-product in present English of *er*+*consonant* in a word taken from French into Middle-English. The knowledge of the French and Latin forms on the part of the learned seems to have influenced decidedly the ordinary English words, and even the surnames in some cases.

Black, White, and Brown(e) are probably complexion-names; though complexion-names cannot

¹ See Kluge, Paul's *Grundriss der germ. Philologie*, vol. i. p. 866.

be separated from those derived from the color of the hair or of the clothing. Hoar must usually come from the hair ; Blue, from the clothing, also Green(e) when not a place-name. Curtis was *courteous*. Silliman is a name that had originally a good meaning.

Names taken from the animal kingdom are probably often sign-names. The numberless Lions, Red Lions, Golden Lions, etc., that still exist on English signs, show how many a Lyon originated ; though, of course, any particular family with that name may have had a lion-hearted ancestor. Rountree (rowan-tree), Cherry, Ash, etc., are either place-names or sign-names.

Some very common surnames that seem at first sight hard to explain are simply common nicknames from Celtic or from French, and correspond to well-known English surnames. To Black correspond the Celtic names Dow, Duff, Duffie, and Macduff. Roderick Dhu, if his name had been taken into English before the change of *ū* to *ow*, namely, before the fifteenth century, might have become the ancestor of a race of *Dows*. White corresponds to the Celtic Bean, Finn, and Finlay ; Brown, to the Celtic Dunn. Bigg, Mickle, High, etc., are parallel in English to the French Gross and Grant (grand), and to the Celtic More, Moore, Moran. English Small and Little ; French Pettit, Pettee, Petty, etc. ; and the Celtic Beggs, — have all the same meaning.

CONCLUSION

Some names, especially foreign ones, have become very much changed in form. One would not at first see in Sidney, Seymour, and Sinclair, later forms of the French names, Saint Denis, Saint Maur, and Saint Clair. Bunyan is from Bon-Jean (Good-John).

Popular etymology, the forcing of meaning into words which have no apparent English significance, has altered many names. To illustrate this very common process of putting meaning into words, take the phrase from Tennyson's "Northern Farmer," "Down i' the woild 'enemies" (anemones). The word *anemone* is meaningless to the rustic, and the well-known *enemy* is made to take its place. Fox is in some cases derived from Fawkes and similar forms. These names go back to the personal name Fulke, which was borne by the paternal grandfather of Henry II., and was in common use after the Conquest. Fox is also a true nickname, denoting craftiness, as well as a sign-name. The threefold origin of this name is typical of what is true in many cases. Doolittle is confidently asserted to be in some cases a popular etymology from *de l'hotel* (from the hotel).

The number of stories connected with names is legion. Let us close with a few of them.

In Scott's "Peveril of the Peak" we are told of a cross Mrs. Cresswell who bequeathed £10 to be paid for a funeral sermon in which nothing ill-

natured was to be said of her. The Duke of Buckingham wrote the following brief but pointed discourse: "All I shall say of her is this: she was born well, she married well, she lived well, and she died well; for she was born at Shadwell, married to Cresswell, lived at Clerkenwell, and died in Bridewell."

Praise-God Barebone, who gave his name to Barebone's Parliament, had a brother who is said to have chosen for himself the title *If-Christ-had-not-died-for-you-you-had-been-damned Barebone*. His acquaintances cut this first name down to the last syllable, thus securing in "*Damned Barebone*" a designation at once brief, Scriptural, and unambiguous.

A certain Dr. Mountain, chaplain to Charles II., was asked by the king if he could recommend a suitable man for a vacant bishopric. "Sire," he replied, "if you had faith but as a grain of mustard-seed, the matter could be settled at once." "How?" inquired the astonished monarch. "Why, my liege, you could then say unto this Mountain, 'Be thou removed into that see,' and it should be done." The witty chaplain secured the bishopric.

THE STYLE OF ANGLO-SAXON
POETRY

THE STYLE OF ANGLO-SAXON POETRY ¹

THE METRE

It is desirable to explain briefly at the beginning of this paper, the two main opinions that have been held concerning the metre of Anglo-Saxon poetry. Each line of this verse consists of two equal parts, which were separated in utterance by a pause, or cesura. The question whether one of these half lines contained two accented syllables, marking two measures, or four stresses, giving four measures, has been debated in Germany with an amount of ability, zeal, and warm feeling which we of America employ only in discussing social, theological, or political topics.

If we assume that the half line contained only two measures, then the syllables marked in the following passage received the accent :

“ Wes thu Hrō'thgār hā'1 ! ic eom Hi'gelā'ces
Be thou, Hrothgar, hale ! I am Higela'c's
“ mæg and ma/go-thegn ; haebbe ic mæ'rtha fe'la
Kinsman and war-thane ; I have exploits many

¹ Reprinted from the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. iii. (1887), pp. 17-47. This paper was written nearly twenty years ago. Since that time the writer's studies have lain outside the field of Anglo-Saxon, and it has not been practicable, in reprinting the article, to give it any general revision.

"ongu'nne on geo'gothe.	Me wearth Gre'ndles th'ing
Undertaken in youth.	To me was Grendel's deed
"on mīnre ē'thel-ty'rf	u'ndyrne cū'th."
in my native land	clearly known.

Beowulf, ll. 407-10.

The rule concerning the alliteration is that usually both of the accented syllables in the first half of the line (sometimes only one of them) and the first accented syllable in the second half line begin with the same consonant or with any vowel. The last line above has only two alliterating syllables, and these begin with different vowels.

It will be noted that there is great irregularity in the above passage in the distribution of the stressed and unstressed syllables; but the movement may have somewhat resembled that of the following smoother and more regular verses of modern authors: ¹—

"Long ere the Pale Face	Crossed the Great Water,
Miantowona	Passed, with her beauty,
Into a legend	Pure as a wild-flower
Found in a broken	Ledge by the seaside."
	Aldrich, Miantowona.

"O young Mariner,	You from the haven
Under the sea-cliff,	You that are watching
The gray Magician	With eyes of wonder,
I am Merlin,	And I am dying,
I am Merlin	Who follow The Gleam."
	Tennyson, Merlin and the Gleam.

The older opinion, still advocated by some scholars, is that each half line of Anglo-Saxon verse consisted of four measures. The alliterative lines

¹ To facilitate comparison with the Anglo-Saxon, these passages are printed with two verses to the line.

of Middle English are interpreted by them in the same way, the opening verses of "Piers the Plowman" being thus divided into measures by Professor March:¹ —

"In' a | so''mer | se''s | on`||whan) so''ft | wa's the | so''nn | è
 I) sho''pe | mé in | shro''ud | ès || as) I' a | she''pe | we''r | è
 In) ha''bite | ás an | he''re | mite || un)ho''l | y` of | wo''rk | ès
 Wént | wy''de | ín this | wo''rld||wo''nd | rès to | he''r | è."

The double accent is not employed by Professor March. It is used here to mark the syllables which are accented by those who read the half line with two stresses, as does Professor Skeat.

Those who hold the opinion that there were four accents in the alliterative half line of Anglo-Saxon and Middle English believe that the later rhymed poetry of the folk-songs, or popular ballads, came from the old alliterative verse. According to this view, the common ballad stanza is the equivalent of two full lines of the older verse, but has a silent measure at the end of the second and fourth lines. For example:—

"In som | er, when | the shawes | be sheyne,
 And leves | be large | and long, | — |
 Hit is | full mer | y in feyre | foreste
 To here | the foul | ys song." | — |

Robin Hood and the Monk.

This stanza becomes more regular in the Common Metre of our hymn-books. In the Long Metre stanza, every verse has four complete measures; in the Short Metre, three of the four verses end with a silent measure.

¹ *Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language*, New York, 1869, p. 228.

In a few cases in Anglo-Saxon we have end-rhyme joining together the two half lines. Those favoring four stresses to the half line would read such a verse in this way: —

bā'neo'fan on'ba'nd, brēo'stlo'can on'wa'nd
the bone-chamber unbound, the breast-enclosure unwound

Such a line would be looked upon as the metrical ancestor of a couplet like this, one half of a Long Metre stanza: —

“Jesus | shall reign | where'er | the sun | Does his | success | ive
jour | neys run.”

The predominant opinion among modern scholars is that the Anglo-Saxon half line had two accents, or measures. The present paper as originally written assumed the truth of this interpretation of our older verse, and for the most part the expressions which refer to this theory as the correct one have been left unchanged. This view finds four accents in the entire line; as already indicated, three of these usually alliterate and two of them must do so.

The relative power of the different word-classes to draw to themselves the accent, and so the alliteration, is clearly defined. Nouns and adjectives, the *nomen* class of the grammarians, have the highest rank, and under ordinary circumstances cannot be passed over. Next come adverbs; then, verbs; and finally, pronouns and particles. These last words cannot ordinarily carry the rhythmical stress, but may if they have a strong logical accent.

I. CONCISENESS AND ENERGY

We now turn to look at the style of Anglo-Saxon poetry, where we shall find some natural results, or at least accompaniments, of this metre. The extreme emphasis resulting from accent and alliteration combined upon the same syllables naturally goes with a highly intense, vigorous style. And this we have. Anglo-Saxon poetry is always more than lively; it is intense. One writer speaks of "the strange emphasis of the whole Anglo-Saxon style."¹ The great weight given to the nouns and adjectives in the construction of strong lines, and next after that class to the verbs, compels the poet to express himself powerfully and concisely. The verse demands strong nouns, adjectives, and verbs; and these, of necessity, state the thought with brevity and power. The blows of the sturdy syllables, highly stressed in order to bring out the alliteration, must carry with them blows of expressed thought or action. The poet cannot retard the expression of a thought, but the moment it is broached he must hurl it forth. Says Taine: "The poet's chief care is to abridge, to imprison thought in a kind of mutilated cry."² This is partly true, and emphasizes what has been said. Thus we see that conciseness of language and extreme energy of expression constitute a central characteristic of the style of this poetry; and we see the natural connection

¹ Rehrmann, "Essay concerning Anglo-Saxon Poetry," *Jahresbericht*, etc., Lübben, 1877.

² *History of English Literature*, Book I. chap. i. sec. v.

of this with the alliterative metre. Of course we need not suppose that this characteristic was not as much in accord with the disposition of the poet as with the nature of the metre. Professor ten Brink remarks upon this feature of style as follows: "The lack in the Old English epic of the clearness and fine completeness of the Homeric, is at least partially made good by the greater directness of expression. The poet's excitement is not seldom imparted to the listener; in situations that seem to justify it, this is very effective."¹

(a) *Adapted to war poetry.* — War is the leading subject of Anglo-Saxon poetry; and this vigorous style is peculiarly adapted to that theme.

(b) *Synonym instead of pronoun.* — A device of style which often increases this emphasis of diction is the use of a strong synonym or epithet instead of a simple personal pronoun. This, too, is a necessity of the metre, and will be dwelt upon in another place.

(c) *Vigor of the figures of speech.* — The remarkable vigor of the Anglo-Saxon figures of speech is one source of the abounding energy of this poetry. This feature will be considered later.

(d) *Simplicity of sentence-structure.* — The typical Anglo-Saxon sentence is as simple as it is strong. Says Rehrmann: "The simple principal sentence is the most popular form, . . . accessory sentences [clauses] are employed as rarely as possible. . . . Relative sentences are very frequent,

¹ *Early English Literature*, New York, 1883, p. 21.

of course, but they are always of the greatest simplicity."

"The earl was for this the blither,
Laughed then the bold man, gave thanks to the Creator
For the day's work, which his Lord granted him."

The Death of Byrhtnoth, 146.

I cannot agree with Professor Lounsbury when he says of Anglo-Saxon poetry, "The construction of its sentences is often involved and intricate."¹

II. REPETITION OF THOUGHT WITH VARIATION OF EXPRESSION

Here a difficulty arises closely analogous to that which the architect experiences in the use of iron as a building material. It is easy to get strength, but hard to get volume. The pillar which is abundantly strong for its place, is yet too insignificant in size to be imposing. The Anglo-Saxon poet avoids this difficulty by repeating his ideas in every possible way, but not his words. The remorseless energy of the alliterative metre uses up, devours, the thought so rapidly that repetition becomes a necessity. The result is that Anglo-Saxon poetry progresses like a spirited horse, which takes a few long bounds forward, only to follow that by much prancing and tossing without any advance. But this repetition of the main idea is made enjoyable by the constant variation of the language. Each repetition must emphasize some new phase or characteristic by the use of new terms. Hence our second great principle of Anglo-Saxon poetical

¹ *History of English Language*, 2d ed., New York, 1894, p. 32.

style is: Repetition of the thought with variation of the expression. This repetition with variation takes many forms. A noun may have three or four appositional phrases scattered through all parts of the sentence, or there may be complete parallelism of successive sentences, which is a favorite form of expression. But parallelism is evidently not a principle with the Anglo-Saxon poet. The principle is as we have stated it. He is as well satisfied to repeat a subject or object three or four times, and other elements of the sentence not at all, as he is to construct a complete parallelism.

“A tumult arose
Continually renewed. There stood to the North-Danes
Dreadful terror, to each one
Of those who from the wall heard the weeping,
The antagonist of God singing his terrible note,
Unvictorious song, bewailing his pain
The hell-fettered one.”

Beowulf, 783.

The repetitions in the next two extracts show no tendency to form complete parallelisms.

“Then round the mound the battle-brave rode,
Sons of athelings, twelve in all,
Wished to tell their sorrow, bewail the king,
Wreak their words, and speak of the man.”

Beowulf, 3171.

“. . . they [Constantinus and Anlaf] might not laugh
That they were better in the battle-work
Upon the battle-stead, in the clash of banners,
In the meeting of spears, the gathering of men,
The interchange of weapons, after they on the slaughter-field
Had played with the offspring of Edward.”

The Battle of Brunanburh, 47.

(a) *The poetical synonym.* — From repetition

with variation, taken in connection with the predominant metrical power of the *nomen* class, springs at once the importance of epithet, or synonym, in this poetry. Indeed, it may be called the poetry of synonym. The metrical weakness of the pronoun, on account of which it frequently cannot be used, is one explanation of the great abundance of synonyms, epithets (Norse, *Kenningar*). If a king has drawn the sword upon his enemy, *he* will not strike *him* with *it*; but the noble lord, or the battle-bold one, will strike the hostile one, or the death-doomed one, with the ancient heirloom, or the battle-gleam. Of course many simple personal pronouns are used, but the tendency to replace them with poetical synonyms is very evident. For example: —

“ [Holofernes] laughed and roared, vociferated and dinned,
So that the children of men might hear from afar
How *the fierce-minded one* stormed and yelled.”

Judith, 23.

Sometimes the unemphatic pronoun and the emphatic epithet stand side by side, instead of one forcing out the other; as is the case with the appositive adjectives in the following: —

“ Went then straight away
The women twain bold-of-courage,
Until *they* came *strong-of-mind*,
The joyfully triumphant maids, out of that army,
So that they clearly could see
Of the beautiful city the walls glitter,
Bethulia. *They* then *adorned-with-rings*
Hurried forward their steps,
Until *they* *glad-of-mind* had come
To the wall-gate.”

Judith, 132.

These synonyms, epithets, Kenningar, whether replacing pronouns, or mere appositions and syntactically superfluous, are a central feature of this poetry. It is very plainly more fond of using them than of repeating the action of the verb. This agrees with the metrical importance of the *nomen* class. Heinzel treats under a special head, as a feature of all early Germanic poetry, "Abgetrennte Apposition," or appositions which are separated from their nouns.¹ But the distinction is not important for Anglo-Saxon; appositive expressions can come anywhere in the sentence after their noun or pronoun. It is perhaps even the exception for appositive synonyms to follow their antecedents directly. They are variously placed in the following extract (one of them is instead of a pronoun) : —

" The field flowed
With the blood of the warriors, after the sun on high
In the morning-tide, illustrious star,
Glided over the valleys, God's bright candle,
The eternal Lord's, until the noble creature
Sank to his setting."

The Battle of Brunanburh, 12.

It is very common for an epithet to close the sentence ; as here : —

" They had rebelled against the defender of the Scyflings,
The best one of the sea-kings,
Of those who in the Swedes' kingdom distributed treasure,
Illustrious prince."

Beowulf, 2382.

¹ *Ueber den Stil der altgermanischen Poesie*, Strassburg, 1875, p. 5.

The treatise of Dr. Wilhelm Bode, "*Die Kenningar in der Angelsächsischen Dichtung*,"¹ is very full and satisfactory. He divides the synonyms, or Kenningar, into five classes, as follows :

First, — those which portray their subjects directly and fully ; as, "the bright king," for God ; "the black fiend," for the Devil : Second, — those which fix upon some particular part of the idea and present the thought by synecdoche ; as, "sword-play," for battle ; "shield-bearers," for warriors (these two classes are of the nature of *epitheta ornantia*) : Third, — metaphorical synonyms, the most numerous group ; as, "the sail-road" and "the cup of the waves," for the ocean : Fourth, — synonyms which embody a definition of their subjects ; as, "slaughter-shaft," for spear ; "soul-bearers," for men : Fifth, — synonyms which contain an allusion ; as, "Weland's work," for Beowulf's coat-of-mail ; "God's handiwork," for men. These five classes run together more or less. — Strictly speaking, the term "synonym," which I have employed for the most part, is broader than either of the terms "epithet" and "Kenning," and includes all of the designations which can be used for a given idea. Hence it is the best term for my purpose. I am sorry that Dr. Bode has not given all of those expressions for each of the ideas treated by him, which he considers to be literal ("*Eigentliche Ausdrücke*"), since the line between these and the Kenningar is a shadowy one.

¹ Darmstadt und Leipzig, 1886.

I have collected with some care every noun in "Beowulf" and every noun followed by a genitive which is used to denote any one of the three ideas, — *ocean*, *sword*, and *ship*. In order to secure a clear line of demarcation, I have excluded all words which Heyne, in the glossary to his edition of the poem, gives as adjectives, even though they may occur also as substantives or appositives. With these exclusions I find forty-two simple and compound nouns in "Beowulf" which mean *ocean*, and ten nouns + genitives; twenty-nine nouns which mean *sword*, and two nouns + genitives; and twenty-one nouns which mean *ship*.¹ Some of the synonyms for *ocean* may be thus translated: the sea-

¹ OCEAN: — *Brim*, *brim-lád*, *brim-streám*, *brim-wylm*, *êg-streám*, *eágor-streám*, *eolet*, *faroth*, *flôd*, *flôd-ÿth*, *ford*, *gâr-secg*, *geofon*, *heaf*, *heáthu*, *holm*, *holm-wylm*, *lagu-stræét*, *hran-râd*, *lagu*, *lagu-streám*, *mere*, *mere-stræét*, *sæe*, *sæe-lâd*, *sæe-wylmas*, *segl-râd*, *streám*, *sund*, *sund-gebland*, *swan-râd*, *waed*, *wæeg*, *wæeg-holm*, *waelm*, *waeter*, *waeter-egesa*, *waeter-ÿth*, *wylm*, *ÿtha*, *ÿth-gebland*, *ÿth-gewin*. — Total, 42.

Flôda begang, *flôda genipu*, *ganotes baeth*, *geofenes begang*, *holma gethring*, *sióletha begong*, *waeteres hrycg*, *ÿtha ful*, *ÿtha geswing*, *ÿtha gewealc*. — Total, 10.

SWORD: — *Beado-leóma*, *beado-mêce*, *bil*, *brand*, *ecg*, *gûth-bil*, *gûth-sweord*, *gûth-wine*, *haeft-mêce*, *heard-ecg*, *heoru*, *hilde-bil*, *hilde-leóma*, *hilde-mêce*, *hilt*, *hring-îren*, *hring-mæel*, *îren*, *lâf*, *leóma*, *mâthum-sweord*, *maegen-fultum*, *mêce*, *secg*, *sige-wæpen*, *sweord*, *wæeg-sweord*, *wæpen*, *yrfe-lâf*. — Total, 29.

Fêla lâfe, *lâfe homera*. — Total, 2.

SHIP: — *Bât*, *brenting*, *bunden-stefna*, *ceôl*, *faer*, *flota*, *hringed-stefna*, *hring-naca*, *lida*, *naca*, *sæe-bât*, *sæe-genga*, *sæe-wudu*, *scip*, *stefn*, *sund-wudu*, *wêg-flota*, *wudu*, *wunden-stefna*, *ÿth-lida*, [*ÿth*]-*naca*. — Total, 21.

stream, the water-street, the whale-road, the tumult of waters, the swan-road, the battling of the waves, the cup of the waves. For *sword* we have: the hard-edge, the battle-gleam, the leavings of the files, the leavings of the hammers. A *ship* is: the ringed prow, the sea-goer, the sea-wood, the wave-floater, etc.

In the 350 lines of "Judith" which remain to us, the poet varies with great skill his expressions for Holofernes, for Judith, for the Assyrians, and for the Jews. Within a few lines (9-20), for example, the Assyrians are termed heroes, retainers, shield-warriors, leaders of the folk, proud ones, companions-in-evil, bold corselet-warriors, hall-sitters, doomed ones, and brave shield-warriors (gumas, thegnas, rondwîggende, folces raeswan, wlance, weâgesîthas, bealde byrnwîggende, flettsittende, fæge, rôfe rondwîggende). When he mentions them again a few lines farther on (27-31), he does not begin repeating these terms, but calls them bench-sitters, liegemen, and nobles (bencsittende, dryhtguman, duguth). Since prose does not need any such store of synonyms, many of these epithets are never found outside of poetry.

It is to be expected that these epithets will be sometimes used in a stock way, without a clear regard to their full force. Even Homer says, in similar fashion, "Then the son of Menoitios kindled a great fire, the godlike man." (Iliad, IX. 211). But it does seem strange to find the course

of the narrative actually contradicting the epithet employed, as in this case :¹ —

“The war-sword gave way,
Naked in the contest, as it should not do,
Excellent iron.”

Beowulf, 2585.

Epithets which the narrative does not call for or explain are quite common. It is usually clear that these are employed simply as general terms of praise or reproach.

(b) *Figures of speech*. — Simile and allegory seem to be too conscious and elaborate for the Anglo-Saxon mind. Allegory is not found in “Beowulf”; and there are but five similes (lines 218, 728, 986, 1572, 1609), as follows: a ship sails away “most like to a bird”; the light from Grendel’s eyes is “most like to flame”; his claws are “most like to steel”; the sword with which Beowulf kills Grendel’s mother melts away in her poisonous blood “most like to ice when the frost-fetters the Father unlooseth.” This last simile and the only remaining one have each more than the necessary two words. The sword which Beowulf has snatched from the wall lights up the ocean-chamber

“Just as from heaven brightly shineth
The candle of the firmament.”

Ll. 1572-3.

In really representative Anglo-Saxon poetry, the usage is very much as in “Beowulf.”

¹ The translation follows Heyne and Garnett. Professor F. A. Blackburn interprets “*æer-göd*,” translated “*excellent*,” as meaning “*always good before*,” an epithet that would be entirely fitting.

Professor Heinzel, in the monograph already referred to, insists on connecting each peculiarity of the style of early Teutonic poetry with a similar peculiarity in the Sanskrit Vedas, and considers the Vedic hymns to be the closest existing representative of an original Indo-European literature, of which all the individual literatures are descendants. He treats the separate nations and languages as mere transmitters of early characteristics, and as occasionally failing to do even that. Thus the resources of poetry in any later literature, at least as regards the style, may be fewer than those seen in the Old Sanskrit, but cannot be more numerous. Heinzel cites this great scarcity of the simile in Anglo-Saxon, when contrasted with the Vedas, and feels obliged to explain this "loss of the simile." He attributes it to the influence of Christianity, which he thinks to have permeated and transformed even "Beowulf." The passionate character of the Norsemen, untempered by Christianity, explains, on the other hand, the "survival of the simile" in Old Norse. It seems to me that few can agree with this. Is simile the language of passion? and would the alleviating influence of Christianity drive it out? Most certainly not. Ten Brink says, substantially, that the impetuous character of the Anglo-Saxons *prevented* them from using the simile.¹ But Heinzel makes the Old Norse keep it for that very reason. At any rate, the fact is that the Anglo-Saxons are fond of the metaphor and the similar

¹ *Early English Literature*, p. 19.

figures of speech. These figures are more short and forcible, more nervous, than the simile. The metaphor is a flash of lightning, giving the maximum of light and heat in the minimum of time. It is plain, too, that those figures which can be complete in a single word are naturally agreeable to the Anglo-Saxon metre with its hammer-strokes.

Dr. (now Professor) F. B. Gummere replied to Heinzel.¹ His positions seem to me well taken, and they agree with ten Brink's explanation of the scarcity of simile in Anglo-Saxon. His statements are as follows, in substance: —

1. The passionate character of the Teutonic race is thoroughly opposed to simile. This is seen in Anglo-Saxon and Old High German.

2. Anglo-Saxon does, historically, take its simile from foreign influences.

3. The real task is to explain the presence of the simile in the passionate Old Norse.

4. "Beowulf" is a heathen poem, with no positive Christian treatment.

But let us look one moment at this assumed abundance of similes in Old Norse. Where in the literature are they found most plentifully? And what is their character and importance? I am not a student of Old Norse, but I have carefully looked through Vigfusson and Powell's translations of the earliest Northern poetry.² In the "Atla-Kvitha,"

¹ *The Anglo-Saxon Metaphor*, Freiburg, 1881.

² *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1883.

occupying eight octavo pages, there are no similes. In the "Hamthis-Mal," occupying seven pages, there are seven similes, three in one place. In all the fragments of the "Helgi Trilogy," covering twenty-four pages, there are four similes, three in one place. These pages are about equivalent to duodecimo pages, as the translation is printed at the bottom of each page. This is certainly not a great abundance of similes. Some of them are more highly developed than those in "Beowulf," but all are short. They bear no resemblance to the elaborate Homeric simile.

Gummere's paper upon the Anglo-Saxon metaphor covers the ground so completely that I will refer all persons to it for details and for a very elaborate classification. He really treats the whole question of figures of speech in this poetry, as he brings metonymy and synecdoche under metaphor, discusses the rarity of the simile, and treats personification at length. On this general question I can agree with him for the most part, though I shall state my view somewhat differently:—

We cannot conceive a language sufficiently developed to have a literature unless the figures of Personification, Metaphor, Synecdoche, and Metonymy are all present; that is, Personification and the figures which easily condense themselves into a single word. All of these figurative *words* Gummere calls "metaphors." Thus he uses the word *metaphor* in two senses. I should prefer

to call them *tropes*, as suggested by Professor Minto.¹

It may be questioned whether any of these figures are at first employed consciously, except Personification, which, in primitive language, is the most natural and the most *literal* form of expression. Gummere says well, "A flexibility of terms is the real origin of the metaphor; Cynewulf is conscious of no metaphor in calling a bird's nest a *hūs*" (house). Any one fond of children is familiar with this stage of language. Their words are few and flexible, and are easily stretched to cover new ideas and objects. To a certain extent language is always in this stage. I can drive the dog "into his *kennel*," or "into his *house*." I am not even sure that such phrases in Anglo-Saxon as "the candle of the firmament," "the world-candle," etc., applied to the sun, were conscious metaphors; and a strictly unconscious metaphor is none at all to those who first use it; it is only one of the meanings naturally included in a word which is still undefined. A later precision in the use of terms causes these words to shrink up in content, like lakes in a drought, and many of these old uses of the words and old phrases containing them are left stranded high upon the beach as metaphors. Accompanying this increasing precision of language, by which old words and phrases begin to be felt as figurative, there is the conscious origination of simple metaphors, metony-

¹ *Manual of English Prose Literature*, 2d ed., p. 12, Edinburgh and London, 1881.

mies, etc., but not at first of similes. This is the point at which we must place the language of the representative Anglo-Saxon poetry, whatever Heinzel may think of its historic antecedents and relationships. Ten Brink says of the Anglo-Saxon metaphors that "most of them were not felt to be figurative." This is not, as is so common in cultivated language, because the force once belonging to a metaphor has so faded out that it has become practically literal in its use. I am now speaking of words and phrases which have never yet been felt as figurative by their users, though they are such in our present use and to our present speech-consciousness.

We see now why simile was so rare in this poetry, and allegory almost entirely lacking. The poets were not yet sufficiently self-conscious, not capable enough of analyzing their own mental processes, not well enough able to stand above the field of action and choose out scattered objects for comparison, — to employ elaborate and sustained simile. They were too vitally interested in what they said to be able to hold it off and examine it coolly with a view to the most effective presentation. They did not wish to do this ; and the strong shocks of the alliterating accents did not encourage fine-spun figures of speech. "Detailed and ample similes are first found in 'Christ,' " says ten Brink. "There are but two, . . . and these are very old ones that Cynewulf found in his originals."

That the Anglo-Saxon poet was hardly conscious

of his metaphors and certainly not of some of them, is clear from his perfect readiness to mix metaphors. "The typical Anglo-Saxon metaphor," as Gummere says, "is confined to one word, or at most to several words in the closest syntactical relation." One metaphor in the subject gives way to another in the verb, and perhaps to a third in the object. When Beowulf's sword would not wound Grendel's mother, the poet says, "The battle-gleam would not bite" (line 1524), as though all well-regulated gleams were carnivorous. If a metaphor is preserved for a few words it is soon cast aside, as in this case: —

"The wound-gates burst open, then the blood sprang forth
From the body's hostile bite" (i. e. wound).

Beowulf, 1122.

Here are the best instances that I have been able to find in "Beowulf" of sustained metaphor (in the first Wiglaf is trying to revive Beowulf): —

"He began once more
 To cast water upon him, until the point of the word
 Brake through the breast-board."

Beowulf, 2791.

" . . . until the wave of death
 Touched at his heart."

Ibid. 2270.

" . . . in him the love of woman
 Because of care-waves shall become cooler."

Ibid. 2066.

No one looked upon the cruel Thrytho (or Mōd-thrytho)

"But he appointed for himself death-fetters firm,
 Twisted by hand."

Beowulf, 1937.

The vigor of the tropes in this poetry is wonderful. In "Genesis" (1384) the drowning of wicked men is thus expressed: "The waves of the King of glory drove the souls of the impious ones from the flesh-garments." When the "Exodus" poet would tell us that no one was trying to cause amusement, he says (43), "The hands of the laughter-smiths were closed."¹ In describing the overthrow of Pharaoh's host the same poem says (63): "The mightiest of sea-deaths lashed the sky." It is refreshing to turn to such verse from modern trios and rondeaus.

A striking instance of allegory is found in "Genesis," 987-95. This we probably owe to theological influences. The tree of death, of which Adam and Eve have partaken, is made to extend its myriad branches throughout all the earth and touch every child of man, "as it still doth" — an Ygdrasil of evil.

(c) *Parallelism*. — The principle of repetition with variation often resulted in complete parallelisms, as complete as those of the Hebrew poetry. Though parallelism does not seem to be a principle of Anglo-Saxon poetry, it occurs very frequently, and seems to have been sometimes consciously sought. Repetition of the thought with variation of the expression necessarily took this form in many cases. Here are five successive

¹ Professor F. A. Blackburn believes that "the laughter-smiths" are an allusion to "the magicians" of Exodus viii. 18, etc.; and that these are conceived as jugglers, or sleight-of-hand men, whose business was to amuse the court.

statements of the fact that Beowulf's ship got under way: —

“ The sea-wood groaned ;
Not at all there the wave-floater did the wind o'er the billows
From its course hinder ; the sea-goer went,
The foamy-necked floated forth over the flood,
The bound prow over the ocean streams.”

Beowulf, 1907.

These are good examples of Anglo-Saxon parallels.

(d) *Negative form of statement.* — The second one of the above clauses differs from the rest in being stated in the negative form. In the Anglo-Saxon repetitions the desired variation of the expression is often assisted by denying the opposite of something already stated. The killing of the dragon by Beowulf is so important that it must be set forth in every possible way. Notice the alternation of positive and negative clauses: —

“ The slayer also lay,
The terrible earth-drake, deprived of life,
Oppressed by bale: the ring-hoard longer
The twisted worm might *not* control ;
But the edges of irons took him away,
The hard battle-sharp leavings of hammers,
So that the wide-flyer, still from his wounds,
Fell on the earth near to the hoard-hall :
Not at all through the air did he go flying
In the middle of the night, proud of costly treasures
Showed his form : but he to earth fell
On account of the hand-work of the battle-prince.”

Beowulf, 2825.

III. DISCONNECTEDNESS

Every reader of this poetry is at once struck by the abrupt, disconnected manner in which its ideas are expressed. It is hard to generalize, however. Here and there, especially in the later poetry, passages can be found in which the rhetoric is really elaborate and the connections of thought are very fully indicated. This is true of that part of "Genesis" which Sievers showed to be closely related to the Old Saxon "Heliand," and which ten Brink calls the "Later Genesis." Of course antithesis is not uncommon, but we have an unusually clear-cut one in "Genesis," 353 : —

"Welled up within him
Pride in his heart, hot was without him
The grievous torment."

A little farther on we have a marked example of disconnectedness made expressive : —

"Alas! had I control of my hands,
And could I for a time get loose,
Be free for one winter-hour, then I with this troop —
But about me lie iron bonds,
The rope of fetters rides me."

Genesis, 368.

A striking instance of full and elaborate syntax is the following : —

"If I to any thane lordly treasures
In former years gave, while we in the good realm
All blissful sate, and had sway of our thrones, —
Then he to me at no more acceptable time might with reward
My bounty requite, — if for this purpose
Any one of my thanes would offer himself,

So that he upward and outward might go hence,
 Might come through these barriers and strength in him had
 So that with feather-garments he might fly,
 Whirl on the welkin to where all fashioned stand
 Adam and Eve in the earth-kingdom
 With wealth surrounded, — and we are cast away hither
 Into these deep dales.”

Genesis, 409.

In spite of such passages, however, the statements which have been made under this head are true in general for representative Anglo-Saxon poetry. Here again I can call attention to the consonance of the style with the metre. If one is disconnected, so is the other; for the lines of this poetry do not consist of “linked sweetness long drawn out,” but of small groups of vigorous accents.

(a) *Transitional particles, few and ambiguous.* — The transitional particles of this poetry are few and somewhat ambiguous. Says ten Brink, — “[There is] a certain poverty of particles, which are the cement of sentence-structure, and indicate the delicate shading in the relations of thought.”¹ Taine remarks, — “Articles, particles, everything capable of illuminating thought, of marking the connection of terms, of producing regularity of ideas, all rational and logical artifices, are neglected. Passion bellows forth like a great shapeless beast; and that is all.”² The quotation from ten Brink covers the ground; Taine, however, is wrong in thrusting aside as rude and worthless the poems which he cannot appreciate. Anglo-Saxon poetry is emphatic and intense always, and often excited and dra-

¹ Page 20.

² Book I. chap. i. sec. v.

matic. It is only a natural consequence of this that it is disconnected and often inexact, and does not understand well how to take inventory in clear methodical fashion. It must not be compared with Homer for finish of style; it knows not the consolations and refinements of the imperfect and the second aorist, but read it, Teuton! and your heart-strings will twitch as if plucked by a hand reached from out the past.

(b) *Clauses dependent in construction but not in thought.* — I have said that the particles are also somewhat ambiguous. Indeed, they sometimes mean practically nothing in poetry, from the fact that clauses which are subordinate in form may be in idea simply restatements of the main clause. Consequently, a fact is liable to be stated as its own cause, or its own result, or as occurring at the time of itself, or in its own manner. This is disguised by the changed language of the new clause, and it is perhaps the desire to change the language completely that causes the logical force of the particle to be overlooked. We had an illustration in our last extract from “Beowulf”: —

“ . . . the edges of irons took him away,
The hard battle-sharp leavings of hammers,
So that the wide-flyer, still from his wounds,
Fell on the earth near to the hoard-hall.”

Ll. 2829 ff.

This is not strictly a result of the dragon's death, but a restatement of it with new particulars.

(c) *Return to a dropped thought.* — I will next

consider that return to a dropped thought which is often claimed to be a confusing feature of the Anglo-Saxon style. I should say that it is usually jarring rather than confusing. Says Taine, "The poet's ideas are entangled; without notice, abruptly, he will return to the idea he has quitted, and insert it in the thought to which he is giving expression."¹ Some of Heinzel's instances of "crossed repetition," in which the poet passes back and forth between two thoughts, are not practically different from ordinary repetition or parallelism. Take this case (King Hrethel is mourning for his son who has been accidentally killed): —

"Always is remembered on each one of mornings,
His son's departure; he wishes not
To live to behold within the palace
Another heir, when this one hath
By the power of death experienced these deeds.
Sorrowfully he beholds in his son's dwelling
The empty wine-hall, resting place of winds,
Robbed of merriment; the rider sleeps,
The hero in the grave; no sound of the harp is there,
Joy in the courts, as once there was."

Beowulf, 2451.

Heinzel cites this passage because the son is first mentioned, then the house of the son, then the son again, and finally the house. He does not regard this as causing any obscurity, and it plainly does not. What wonder if, in the account of Eve's creation in "Genesis," the poet calls our attention first to the Creator, then to Adam, and so back and forth? The balance of expression is preserved

¹ Book I. chap. i. sec. v.

by this presentation of two thoughts, or two sides of one thought. In the same way it causes no obscurity if the writer in a long description or narrative turns for a moment to dwell upon some cause or circumstance, only to return with renewed energy to the main theme. His coming back to the central topic is not strictly a "return to a dropped thought," though it may be called so. In this way the early Milton of the "Genesis" is enabled to increase the effectiveness of his portrayal of hell-torment. The brief reference to the cause of the punishment, which intervenes between the two parts of the description, is not at all foreign to the subject; yet Dr. Rehrmann says, "After two lines he returns once more to the same matter": —

" They suffer torment,
Hot fierce fire in the midst of hell,
Burning and broad flames, also bitter smoke,
Vapor and darkness, because they were unmindful
Of thaneship to God; their lust betrayed them,
The pride of the angel [Satan]; they willed not to obey
The commands of the Almighty; they had terrible torment,
Were felled then to the bottom of the fire,
Into the hot hell through folly
And through arrogance: they sought another land,
Which was devoid of light and full of flame,
A vast terror of fire."

Genesis, 323.

(d) *Clauses independent in construction, but dependent in thought.* — We can see from this last passage why it is that Anglo-Saxon poets are charged with leaving thoughts and returning to them at pleasure. It is because this poetry ex-

presses paratactically, in independent clauses, those ideas of time, cause, manner, and accompaniment, which we are accustomed to express syntactically, in subordinate clauses. Thus, there is nothing in the *construction* to indicate that the poet has not abandoned his first line of thought and taken up a new one. Hence, if the reader does not keep his own mind on the key, he may fancy that the author is jumping about aimlessly. These short independent constructions are a natural accompaniment of the poverty of the particles and the energy of the metre. A plainer instance of "return to a dropped thought," due simply to parataxis, is found in "Beowulf," at the point where the hero and his men have left their boat upon the strand to seek the court of Hrothgar: —

"Then they went on their way (the boat remained still,
 Rested at its moorings the wide-bosomed ship,
 At anchor fast); the boar-likeness shone
 Over their visors adorned with gold."

Beowulf, 301.

This backward glance at the ship as they leave it is not unnatural; but, even if it were not so far prolonged, the passage of the mind once more to the warriors would be somewhat awkward and difficult because of this blunt, independent manner of stating thoughts which are really not unconnected.

The following instance is still more striking; but the return to a dropped thought could be expressed in a well-worded clause of cause or reason, without causing any jarring: —

"The sword then began
 On account of the battle-gore in clots of blood
 The war-bill to vanish (that was a wonder),
 So that it all melted most like to ice,
 When the frost's fetters the Father unlooses,
 Unwinds the ice-ropes, He who has power
 Over times and seasons; that is the true Creator.
 Took he not in that dwelling, the Weder-Geats' prince,
 More of rich treasures, though he many there saw,
 But only the head [of Grendel] and the hilts together,
 With jewels adorned: *the sword before melted,*
The etched brand burnt: the blood was so hot,
The strange-spirit poisonous, who therein died.
 Soon was he swimming who lived through the strife,
 The war-rush of the foes, dived he up through the water."

Beowulf, 1606.

(e) *Neglect of the order of time.* — In the accounts of battles and similar tumultuous occurrences an accurate order of time is often not observed. A mass of striking details are brought out in consecutive sentences, which details are not consecutive in their appearance or occurrence. This often becomes what has been called "the method of intersecting moments" (ten Brink). It is always a total effect that is sought, and this is often secured to a wonderful degree. Says ten Brink: "The portrayals of battles, although infinitely poorer in cast and artistic grouping, although much less realistic than the Homeric descriptions, are yet, at times, superior to them, in so far as the demoniac rage of war elicits from the Germanic fancy a crowding affluence of vigorous scenes, hastily projected in glaring lights or grim half gloom."¹

(f) *Absence of climax.* — The language of these

¹ Page 21.

poems often seems somewhat haphazard and unarranged, simply because no clear order of climax is observed in the repetitions — the appositives and parallels. The extracts have made this feature evident. Climax is so nearly an instinctive device with us moderns that one is not fitted to do justice to the power of this poetry until he becomes accustomed to the absence of it. A good illustration is furnished in two lines that have already been cited: —

“ [They] Wished to tell their sorrow, bewail the king,
Wreak their words, and speak of the man.”

Beowulf, 3173.

(g) *Abrupt transitions.* — As an example of the abrupt transitions which are found in this poetry, notice how quickly Beowulf is transferred from the shore of the lake into the midst of his contest with Grendel's mother: —

“ The water-flood took
The warrior strong: then was a day's time
Ere he the bottom-plain might perceive.
Soon that discovered she who the course of the floods,
Eager for slaughter had held for fifty years,
Grim and greedy, that there some one of men
The house of the monsters sought out from above.
She grasped then against him, the warrior seized
In her terrible grip.”

Beowulf, 1495.

(h) *Pronoun preceding its noun.* *Ambiguous pronoun.* — It is a characteristic of Anglo-Saxon poetry, directly connected with its vividness and not usually causing any obscurity, to introduce an idea with a pronoun; so that a person or thing may

be under discussion or employed in the narrative before it has been clearly named. Says Heinzel : " A new conception floats so distinctly before the eyes of the poet that he introduces it with the pronoun as if well known, and afterwards for the first time designates it unquestionably by its distinctive name." ¹ This preposed pronoun is noticed by all writers upon Anglo-Saxon poetical style as frequently standing at the head of the sentence. But the idea that it introduces is usually one that has been already expressed or suggested, so that there is no confusion. For example : —

" *That from home learned Hygelac's thane,
Good 'mong the Geats, the deeds of Grendel.*"

Beowulf, 194.

The " deeds of Grendel " have been mentioned in the preceding lines, unless we agree with Müllenhof that the poem once began with these words. It is a similar feature of the style (noted by Heinzel) that we do not learn the name of " Hygelac's thane " until he says to Hrothgar, one hundred and fifty lines later, " Beowulf is my name." A good instance of this feature comes in a passage just cited under " abrupt transitions," — " Soon that discovered she," etc. An instance of an entirely new idea introduced by the pronoun, but one easily understood from the context, is the following : —

" *Then Scyld departed at the hour of fate,
The warlike one to go into his Lord's keeping :
They him then bore to the ocean's flood,
His trusty comrades, as he himself bade.*"

Beowulf, 26.

¹ Page 7.

Thus this preposed pronoun does not cause obscurity, and its great vividness is its sufficient justification. — With reference to the Anglo-Saxon pronoun in poetry, it must be freely admitted that it is not always clear which one of two possible references a pronoun is intended to have.

IV. FREEDOM FROM THE SENSUAL AND IDEALIZATION OF THE COMMON

It is now time to mention a feature of Old English poetry which must be always kept in mind. This feature is not connected in any way with the sharp impetuous alliteration ; indeed, it often seems to be hostile to it in spirit. It comes from the imaginative, poetical nature of the people, idealizing every experience. I refer to the freedom from the sensual and the idealization of the common. War and sorrow are the central ideas of this poesy ; but both are idealized. War is heroism, not slaughter. Beowulf fights twice to save the followers of his father's friend, and dies fighting to save his own subjects.

Taine says, "Saxon poets painted warfare as a murderous fury, as a blind madness which shook flesh and blood, and awakened the instincts of the beasts of prey."¹ To this statement I must, in all humbleness, give a plain denial. Except so far as all warfare is a "murderous fury," it seems to me positively untrue.

We have very few Anglo-Saxon love poems. The

¹ Book I. chap. ii. sec. ii.

almost complete absence of the relation of lover and maid from this poetry, and the scanty references to that of husband and wife, are very striking. Woman appears but rarely, and then as the noble, honored spouse, chaste and dignified. She is her husband's best and dearest friend, bone of his bone. That this reticence concerning the most intimate of earthly relations did not come from coldness of heart is certain. One clear indication that it did not is contained in two poems, "The Lament of the Exiled Wife," "The Message of the Exiled Husband." The latter poem is better called "A Love-Letter," since there is nothing in it to show that the writer is a husband rather than a wooer.¹ Each of these tells of the torture of exile. The message of the banished lover says to the dear one: —

"Himself now bids thee
 that thou stir the sea,
 When thou shalt hear on the cliff's edge
 The singing of the sad cuckoo in the grove.
 Then do thou let no living man
 Hinder thy going, stay thy journey!
 Straightway the mere seek, home of the mew.
 Sit in the sea-boat, until thou far to the south
 Over the mere-flood the man findest,
 Where the prince waits in hope of thee.

 The man has no longing desires
 For steeds, nor for jewels, nor joys of the mead,
 For any treasures on earth fit for earls,
 O daughter of a prince, if he have not thee."

¹ F. A. Blackburn, "The 'Husband's Message,'" etc., *Journal of Germanic Philology*, vol. iii. pp. 1-13.

The thousand years that separate us from this poem are but as one day: "Thanks to the human heart by which we live!"

Outside of a few of the Riddles, there is perhaps not a single impure suggestion in all the Anglo-Saxon poetry. I doubt if the world has ever seen a purer literature.

The relation which is dearest of all to Anglo-Saxon poetry is that of lord and follower. This is free from fleshly taint, pure, ideal. Upon this pure, almost abstract relation, the Anglo-Saxon poet lavishes his loving attention. The retainer who deserted his master in battle, were that master dead or alive, was forever disgraced. The *Comitatus*, *Gefolgschaft*, was Pan-Germanic, I know, but where else was it so spiritual, so noble? What other nation so dropped from its poetry the love of man and woman, and so fastened its attention upon the love of lord and follower? Indeed, the true lord became exalted under this treatment to a very noble conception. He is the kind friend and guardian of all. Beowulf and Hrothgar grieve over the sufferings of their harassed people. Every pang is their own. It reminds one of the Christian conception of Christ's followers, that they constitute his very body — this intimate, loving relation between king and people. "The Wanderer," one of the most touching poems ever written, is the lament of a poor solitary over his dear, dead lord-friend. Such a nation easily became Christian. Many religious applications of the relation of lord and follower

appear in the poetry as a result of the introduction of Christianity. A favorite use of this conception was in order to express the love of Christ, the prince, toward the apostles or toward all true disciples, and their tender allegiance to him. Other sacred relations, too, were not unworthily typified by this central feature of Anglo-Saxon life. In the words of ten Brink, "God himself, in his relation to angels and men, was conceived as the almighty prince, as the beloved chieftain; the devil, as the faithless vassal who antagonizes his gold-friend; the heavenly throne was the gift-stool of the spirits."¹

The harsh sounds both of war and grief are idealized into "songs." When Grendel's arm has been torn off, the Danes hear him singing "a terrible song," "an unvictorious lay" (*Beowulf*, 787). *Beowulf's* ringed blade "sang a greedy war-song" upon the head of Grendel's mother. And so with every class of sounds.

The idealization of all that is commonplace permeates Anglo-Saxon life and poetry. The poor, unlettered hind, *Cædmon*, must sing in his turn. Over his barren life must be thrown the light of the ideal world. Etiquette is a prime consideration with the Anglo-Saxon; and no good warrior fails in the definite ceremonials which are evidently considered of very great importance. The poem "*Beowulf*" is full of interesting details of court and warrior life. This life is all idealized, and nothing gross appears. Every person and object

¹ Page 38.

is exalted almost to a state of perfection, or is dismissed from sight and mention as completely bad. Hûnferth alone, as Heinzel notes, has any mixture of traits. The drinking itself is not a merely sensual pleasure. The warriors "bear themselves well" at the feast, declare their devotion to their lord, and promise to perform deeds of valor. This is not the influence of Christianity. Even when Christianity becomes, in different forms, the subject-matter of the poems, they are still thoroughly national. Christianity is a new wine in the old bottles.

One cause of the fact already mentioned, that the battle-scenes in Anglo-Saxon poetry are not clear, is an indisposition to dwell upon wounds and slaughter. The poet delights in describing the preparations for a contest (see, for example, Cynewulf's "Elene," 25 ff.). The dewy-feathered eagle soars over the combatants. The wolf of the wold comes stealing forth and sings his terrible song. The warriors welcome the contest with bold words. But when the actual fighting begins, the poet takes refuge in striking generalities and powerful metaphors. The details of slaughter neither interest nor concern him. Such anatomical details as Homer gives in describing wounds would disgust an Anglo-Saxon singer. And when the hero dies, the poet says, "he chooses the light of God," or "his soul goes from his breast to seek the glory of the sooth-fast," or "he departs on his journey forth." The imagination must be satisfied by a metaphor, rather than the sense by a strict description or narrative.

In order to satisfy the imagination, also, causes, consequences, and accompaniments are often portrayed, rather than the action or object itself, or at least more fully. The description of Grendel's haunted mere shows this at its best:—

“There may each night an evil wonder be seen,
Fire on the flood; so wise a man lives not
Of the sons of men, that he knows its bottom:
Although the heath-stepper pressed by the hounds,
The stag, strong of horns, may seek the grove,
Pursued from afar, he his life will give,
His life on the shore, before he will therein
Hide his head. That is no pleasant place:
Thence the surging waves mount up
Wan toward the clouds, when the wind arouseth
Loathly weather, until the air darkens,
The heavens weep.”

Beowulf, 1366.

The self-control which enables the poet to turn aside and give three and one half lines to this description of the flying stag refusing to enter the haunted lake even to save his life,—is rare in this poetry; but the general method of the description is eminently Anglo-Saxon. The dry facts about the lake are not given, but their poetical values: you do not see the lake clearly, but you shudder. Notice how a full account of Beowulf's struggle with Grendel is avoided in the following lines:—

“He (Grendel) seized then with his hands the firm-minded
Warrior at rest; he (Beowulf) reached out against
The fiend with his hand, quickly he grasped
The evil-minded one and took firm hold of his arm.¹

¹ This is the translation of Professor Blackburn. Garnett translates, “and on his arm sat.”

Soon that perceived the hostile guardian
That he had never met in the mid-earth,
In the regions of earth, in another man
A greater hand-grip : he in mind became
In his soul frightened, not therefore could he sooner get away ;
His mind was death-ready, wished to flee into darkness,
To seek the devil-band : there was no employment for him there
Such as he in former days before had found."

Beowulf, 747.

Next the poet depicts at length the devastation of the beautiful wine-hall ; and then the effect of the contest upon the panic-stricken Danes who were listening. Thus there is no full account of the combat itself, but a complete recital of such accessories and results of the combat as will tend to exalt our conception of it.

V. SERIOUSNESS

There was an ethical sternness and a grand earnestness in the Anglo-Saxons, which was mirrored in an all-pervading seriousness of style. Says ten Brink, — " A profound and serious conception of what makes man great, if not happy, of what his duty exacts, testifies to the devout spirit of English paganism, a paganism which the Christian doctrine certainly softened, but did not transform in its innermost nature." ¹ This temperament excludes from the poetry of this people everything which the poet feels to border upon the comic ; even evil and crime are idealized into an unrelieved blackness and gloom which is too solemn to admit of mirth.

¹ Page 29.

Cynewulf leaves out of his "Juliana" several comical features in his Latin original. Within a hundred years of the landing of the missionaries from Rome, the Anglo-Saxons were the most intensely religious people on earth, the most active in missionary effort. Heinzel would make their seriousness and tenderness, "*Erweichung des Gemüthes*," to be the result of Christianity. Gummere has the whole weight of authority and the only natural interpretation of the literature on his side when he opposes this view.

A great fondness for moralizing appears everywhere. The shortness and uncertainty of life are constantly called up. This is often an artistic blemish. A remarkable instance of moralizing is offered in "Beowulf," when the hero has just killed Grendel's mother, and so exterminated the hated race. King Hrothgar salutes him with a few courtly compliments, followed by a long moralizing speech of eighty-five lines (1701-85). Müllenhoff cuts this speech out, but it fits Hrothgar's character. At any rate, some Anglo-Saxon poet wrote it, and some Anglo-Saxon poet put it into "Beowulf." At the moment of Beowulf's triumph, Hrothgar predicts the sorrows which shall surely come:—

"Now the fame of thy strength
Lasts for a time; afterward it soon shall be
That thee sickness or the sword shall deprive of strength,
Or the grasp of fire, or the wave of the flood,
Or the grip of the sword, or the flight of the shaft,

Or cruel old age ; or the brightness of the eyes
 Shall fail and grow dark : it suddenly shall be
 That thee, great warrior, death shall overcome."

Beowulf, 1762.

He cites the vicissitudes of his own life, and at different points warns Beowulf against the sins which beset rulers. Some of the massive generalities in such passages are almost "Bunsbyisms" in their solemn saying of little or nothing:—

"Fate oft preserves
 The undoomed earl, if his strength holds out."

Beowulf, 572.

The beautiful close of "Wîdsîth" is weakened by an expression like this. Passages which have a touch of the humorous to us, very certainly did not have it to the serious Anglo-Saxons. The poet of that part of "Beowulf" takes the following way of saying that Hrothgar's warriors did not dare to sleep in Heorot after Grendel's visits:—

"Then was it easy to find one who elsewhere,
 More commodiously, rest for himself sought."

Beowulf, 138.

Cynewulf saw no absurdity in the following passage. Elene says to the Jews:—

"Ye with filth did spit
 On his countenance who for you the light of the eyes,
 A remedy from blindness wrought
 Anew through that noble spittle."

Elene, 297.

VI. TENDERNESS

If the forcible style demanded by the alliterative metre was especially fitted to express vigor

of thought and action and the rage of battle, for what topics was the constant repetition, the great abundance of epithet, the endless ringing of all the changes upon a thought, especially adapted? Can any device of style be better fitted than this ceaseless caressing of a thought for expressing grief, sorrow, especially in the milder forms of melancholy and tender memory? And the Anglo-Saxons are as tender and thoughtful as they are brave. The vast problems of life and death oppress the hearts which do not quake before the enemy. The well-known comparison of the life of man to the flight of a swallow through a lighted hall and out into the darkness, finds an echo in almost every Anglo-Saxon poem that has come down to us. The extent to which Matthew Arnold often reproduced the tone of much of Anglo-Saxon poetry is marvelous. His *paganism* and *Beowulf's* have the same sad earnestness: "The wheel is come full circle." The blood of race, or of a common humanity, is thicker than the water of culture.

Elegiac pathos, tender mournfulness, is then, an important feature of the style of this poetry. "*Beowulf*" is full of it. But it finds perhaps its most complete artistic expression in "*The Wanderer*." This poem, while distinctly Anglo-Saxon in atmosphere, marks a higher grade of style and literary skill than is common. The author stands above his subject, even while identified with it in spirit. Instead of repeating the same ideas, he employs new ones which arouse the same feelings;

new references and methods of approach, which yet have the same spiritual effect and relationships. Thus he constantly brings in fresh elements, while securing all the power which came from the more usual repetitions. All the different thoughts agree in illustrating the brief life, the unhappy lot of man. "The Wanderer" has lost his dear lord and is friendless in the world. Hear him!

"Oft the fugitive findeth mercy,
The mildness of God. Moody and weary,
Wandering ever over the water-way,
Hath he with hands of toil, homeless and sad,
Stirred the sea, rime-cold. Rigorous fate!"

General moralizing is followed and enforced by his own particular misery with great pathos: —

"The weary of mind may not withstand
Fate, nor his fierce heart furnish him help;
Therefore do those thirsting for glory
Oft the sad spirit shut in the breast-case.
I, too, distressed with care, torn from my country,
Oft have been forced, far from my kinsmen,
My spirit within me with fetters to seal."

"Bitter his lot who long must forego
The counsel and love, the care of his lord-friend.
When sorrow and sleep stealing upon him
Fast the poor lone one lock in their folds,
It seems to his mind, the man-lord once more
He embraces and kisses, and bends on that lap
His hands and his head in homage, as once
In days that are gone he knelt at the gift-stool.
Then waketh from dreaming the desolate man,
Fallow before him the waves of the flood
Sees, and the birds, bathing and soaring,
The hoar-frost, the snow mingled with sleet."

His own past happiness and present grief are

mirrored in much that he sees about him. Sorrow and death are the lot of man : —

“The strength of the spears, weapons of slaughter,
Brought death to the lords (illustrious doom !);
And beaten by rain stand the ramparts of stone.
The earth in the frost-chains the falling storm binds,
The terror of winter, and darkens the world;
The night-shadows fall, from the north rushes forth
On the heroes of earth the hail in its fury.”

This is poetry ; and would be counted such in any cultivated nation, at any time. If we thus let our subject go out with an elegy and to a dead-march, it is only what this poetry is always doing. Behind every joy and at every banquet, to the mind of the Anglo-Saxon, wait disappointment and sorrow. He will be heroic, because heroism is right and good ; but, whether by the gate of failure or by that of success, he knows that he will soon come where “sits the Shadow feared of man.”

CONCLUSION

It will be seen that I have treated the Anglo-Saxon poetry of all periods and all authors as a homogeneous whole. It can be so regarded in a general paper like this. Its epics have all elegiac passages and episodes. Its lyrics, whether warlike or elegiac, read like extracts from such epics as “Beowulf,” “Genesis,” and “Judith.” It will be noted also further, that the first three qualities of the style of this poetry which have been pointed out, pertain to the style in the strictest sense of that term, that is to the manner of saying what

is said — the grammatical and rhetorical devices employed in the expression of thought. The last three qualities are more general, and concern also the subject-matter of the poetry. The fourth quality, the Freedom from the Sensual and the Idealization of the Common, indicates the mental standpoint of the Anglo-Saxon poet — his method of approach to his themes. The last two qualities, Seriousness and Tenderness, call attention to his predominant emotions — the settled, familiar experiences of his soul.

NATURAL SCIENCE IN A LITERARY
EDUCATION

NATURAL SCIENCE IN A LITERARY EDUCATION ¹

THE greatest forms of literature hold the mirror up to Nature — that is, to life. Literary conventions, even, go back at some point to real life. Because actual Sicilian shepherds once piped their happy songs where Theocritus heard them, the world has had its long line of pastoral poetry, an intolerable deal of the sack of empty repetition and formalism to one half pennyworth of the bread of reality. In spite of traditions, however, the more important literature of the world has kept in touch with actual life. Of Shakespeare and Chaucer we can confidently say that, though each had a library at home, he found another and a better one upon the street.

Science has invaded the life of to-day ; its devices meet us at every turn, its great conceptions fill our minds. What shall be the attitude toward science of those students who wish a literary education ? Shall they devote themselves entirely to the study of the classic productions in the languages of ancient and modern nations ? or shall they take up also those advancing lines of scientific investigation and speculation which are producing new

¹ Revised from the *The Popular Science Monthly* for May, 1896.

instruments for every-day life and new themes for thought, and which are fashioning anew the very minds and language of men?

In answer to this question we shall note briefly that scientific facts and conceptions are steadily finding their way into literature itself; also that the study of science is of special service to the writer, whether he be engaged in the production of pure literature or in the exposition of thought. We shall consider, too, that mental largeness, intellectual catholicity, demands the development of the mind upon the scientific side; and that each department of science supplies a valuable form of mental training.

The literature of an age takes up into itself the whole mental life of the time. He who would adequately interpret present literature should know the major facts and theories of modern science, for these have pressed their way even into writing that is especially marked by beauty and imagination. Henceforth literature will increasingly draw subject-matter from the domain of the sciences. This is a revolution which cannot go backward. The clearness with which Wordsworth foresaw, in 1800, that poetry itself would submit to this tendency, is truly remarkable. He said in that year, in the preface which he wrote for the second edition of the "*Lyrical Ballads*": —

"If the labors of men of science should ever create any material revolution . . . in our condition, and in the impressions which we habitually receive, the poet

will sleep then no more than at present ; he will be ready to follow the steps of the man of science. . . . The remotest discoveries of the chemist, the botanist, or mineralogist, will be as proper objects of the poet's art as any upon which it can be employed, if the time should ever come when these things shall be familiar to us, and the relations under which they are contemplated by the followers of these respective sciences shall be manifestly and palpably material to us as enjoying and suffering beings. If the time should ever come when what is now called science, thus familiarized to men, shall be ready to put on, as it were, a form of flesh and blood, the poet will lend his divine spirit to aid the transfiguration, and will welcome the being thus produced as a dear and genuine inmate of the household of man."

There are many illustrations of the fact that a general knowledge of science is needed to interpret contemporary literature. Tennyson constantly refers to the great scientific discoveries and conceptions of his time. How shall a reader ignorant of those conceptions fully appreciate him? Professor William H. Hudson, in a striking article,¹ speaks of "Tennyson's keen interest in science ; his sympathetic hold upon the vast movements in progress around him ; his manly attitude toward the changes that life and thought were everywhere undergoing." Even the casual reader of Tennyson must have noted how deep is his interest in scientific study, and how fully the great conceptions of modern science find expression in his poetry. Indeed, there seems to be a prophetic element in this. As Miss

¹ "Poetry and Science," *Popular Science Monthly*, October, 1894.

Scudder has noted,¹ it is hard to realize in reading some parts of "In Memoriam" that it was published in 1850, nine years before Darwin's "Origin of Species."

The study of science has a bearing, too, upon the production of literature, as well as upon its interpretation. The great scientific ideas have especial power to arouse the imagination, and they furnish symbols of incomparable value for the skillful setting forth and enforcing of thought.

Great forms of thought, mighty moulds which of necessity give shape to our thinking and then to our very imaginings, — these come to us from the study of things, not from the study of language. Literature itself must largely find its raw material, its great metaphors and similes, its vivid pictures and mighty symbols, within the domain of natural science, and this increasingly as the years go by. The chemist's law of definite and multiple proportions; the laws of motion; the phenomena and laws of light, heat, and electricity; the strata, the glaciers, and the processes of earth-sculpture of the geologist; the winds, tides, and ocean currents; the theories of animal evolution; the struggle for existence, the survival of the fittest; the mighty phenomena, the impressive uniformities, the nebular hypothesis of astronomy — these are great forms of thought as well as facts and theories of science. A man who is unacquainted with modern

¹ *The Life of the Spirit in the Modern English Poets*, Boston, 1895, p. 10.

science cannot well understand the language of educated men, he cannot interpret sympathetically and adequately the literature of his own day, and he cannot make use of some of the most powerful symbols that exist for the expression of ideas. Standing in the midst of a mighty speaking universe, he will find himself, in a measure, tongue-tied because deaf.

Professor Drummond's suggestive book, "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," showed what powerful instruments science furnishes for the exposition and enforcement of thought. The fundamental importance to the speaker and writer of finding effective symbols for his thought is perhaps best illustrated by the parables of Christ; "without a parable spake he not unto them."

This point deserves illustration. A friend of the writer wished recently to present in a sermon the idea and conviction that man's moral nature testifies truly concerning the great moral ideas, and truly, even though not fully, concerning the nature of God. Undoubtedly a sermon upon this theme might appeal directly to the facts of each soul's experience and to the great moral affirmations of our nature with such effectiveness as to awaken in the hearer a sense of the great moral realities that underlie our lives, and a vision of the truth that the spirit of man is the candle of the Lord, that we are also His offspring. But an immaterial truth of this kind needs some great symbol from the physical world to aid in expounding and im-

pressing it, to give it clearness, freshness, and power. In this case the symbol chosen was that of the spectroscope, as it receives the rays from the distant sun, and testifies truly by the lines across the spectrum concerning the nature of the great source of light.

“Just as the spectroscope testifies that what is true on the earth is true in the sun also, and affords one more proof of the material unity of the universe, — so the whole world of men is a kind of moral spectrum, across which appear the lines which represent truth, duty, righteousness, love, aspiration, — lines which represent man’s way of thinking and feeling about things in life because they first of all represent God’s way of thinking and feeling about them. Our moral convictions, our moral ideals, then, have actual worth. Our knowledge is knowledge as far as it goes ; it corresponds to something that is real, something that is in the background, greater than we can grasp or understand, but still the reality on which we can build our life.”

It is also true that the larger facts of modern science constitute an incomparable challenge and stimulus to the imagination. The electric thrill circles the earth ere a swift-footed Achilles could gird up his loins to run. An instructor in rhetoric in the University of Chicago made the statement a few years ago that the most vivid and imaginative themes which came to him from a certain class were written by some pupils interested in geology upon simple topics connected with the history of the earth. Some of the great writers of coming days are already

“nourishing a youth sublime
With the fairy tales of science.”

The value of scientific study is not to be measured, of course, by the extent to which it ministers to the production and appreciation of good literature. The necessity of some knowledge of science, in order that the educated man may possess his intellectual birthright as a member of his own generation, furnishes a fundamental and unanswerable argument for such study. It seems almost a violation of mental integrity, of intellectual wholeness, for an educated man to turn away from that portion of human knowledge which is increasing most rapidly, which is changing the outward fashion of our life, and which is transforming the world of thought. That ideal of education will never go entirely out of fashion which demands that each student make a brave and earnest attempt, even though it can never be more than partially successful, “to see life steadily, and see it whole.” This ideal will always appeal to some minds, and its advocates will judge colleges and universities by their success in furnishing education of this type.

Is there any practical difficulty besides the obvious limitations of time and strength which prevents students of literature from obtaining an outline knowledge of the more important branches of modern science? Unquestionably, the great difficulty is a conviction on the part of these students themselves that scientific study is without value for them. But in some cases this is not the only

obstacle. Some of the introductory courses in science in the American institutions of collegiate grade seem to be planned for those who wish to make specialties of the sciences. Brief, synoptic culture courses are accessible in many institutions, and sometimes in all of the major sciences ; but in other cases they are disbelieved in and are not offered.

It may be granted that literary students should study some one fundamental science more fully than has been indicated, as a guard against habits of superficiality ; but if they are to make any such acquaintance with the " circle of the sciences " as it seems clear that they should, it must be by means of synoptic culture courses, since literary studies will of necessity claim most of their time.

Some scientists will think this proposal foolish and impracticable. It will seem to them absurd that a man should try to study chemistry, for example, especially because of its value for mental culture ; that he should be vitally interested in the fundamental facts of metallurgy, in the law of definite and multiple proportions, and the atomic theory, and have only a languid interest in the details of the chemical laboratory. But there are scientists whose standing is unquestioned who believe in the value and practicability of the courses here advocated.

The particular kind of mental training which each science is fitted to impart gives to it a distinct educational value. The power to observe and in-

terpret the vital and material phenomena of the great world enlarges and enriches the mental life. The mathematics and the more exact physical sciences, on the other hand, help, as no other branches of study can, to give to the mind habits of accuracy and a sense of proportion. Some persons would claim that the different branches of study, whether scientific or humanistic, are substantially equal and even identical in disciplinary power and general educational value. This proposition I cannot accept. Literature, for example, is an indispensable element in an education, but it does not give all kinds of knowledge and mental training. Those students who look upon literature as in itself an education will find — or others will find it out if they do not — that they have accepted it in some measure instead of an education. One cannot omit the other great subjects from his training, and then make up for their loss by reading his Browning, his Chaucer, or even his Shakespeare, more often and more strenuously. In a class in literature many questions do not admit of exact answers; the personal element must come in; the answers of the most careful instructor are only an approximation to the truth; the answers of the most superficial scholar will not be entirely wrong. Indeed, since a literary masterpiece makes its appeal primarily to the emotions and the imagination, the whole conception of definite, exact answers to specific questions has but a limited application to the work of the class in literature. In mathe-

matics and the more exact physical sciences each problem is specific, and has one answer that is exactly right; all other possible answers are exactly and entirely wrong. Every man needs the discipline of such study.

Even professional literary critics are often decidedly lacking in proportion, poise, and sharpness of outline. Let me illustrate. Mr. Swinburne speaks thus of Collins: "He could put more spirit of color into a single stroke, more breath of music into a single note, than could all the rest of his generation into all the labors of their lives."¹ The same critic comments as follows upon some of the poems of Keats: "'The Ode to a Nightingale,' one of the final masterpieces of human work in all time and for all ages, is immediately preceded in all editions now current by some of the most vulgar and fulsome doggerel ever whimpered by a vapid and effeminate rhymester in the sickly stage of whelphood."²

Without objecting now to the qualitative judgments here expressed, let us ask, How about the quantity of praise and blame that is bestowed? Is it probable that the writer of these words ever had much thorough training in the mathematics and physical sciences? Indeed, can he ever have studied anything quantitatively?

It is not the main purpose of this article, however, to argue for the disciplinary value of scientific

¹ Ward's *English Poets*, iii. p. 282.

² *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article upon Keats.

study; its more direct and substantive value for the student of literature is the primary thought set forth. There seem to be two great types of collegiate education, the literary and the scientific. The writer firmly believes that natural science has an important rôle to play in the ideal literary education; and in support of this position he appeals to the prophecy of Wordsworth, to the poetry of Tennyson, and above all to the reason of the case.

WAS POE ACCURATE?

WAS POE ACCURATE?¹

IN an article entitled "The American Rejection of Poe," which appeared in "The Dial" of January 16, 1899, Mr. Charles Leonard Moore used these words: —

"Poe, a logic machine, was absolutely incapable of those pleasing flaws and deficiencies which allow other people to have a good opinion of themselves. He always added up true."

Probably most persons would think of "The Gold-Bug" as the best illustration of the accurate working of Poe's mind. The celebrated cryptograph there found solves itself all right, I presume. There are some mathematical statements in this story, however, which are impossible.

The negro, Jupiter, is compelled by his master, William Legrand, to climb "an enormously tall tulip-tree, which . . . far surpassed . . . all other trees which I had then ever seen, in the beauty of its foliage and form, in the wide spread of its branches, and in the general majesty of its appearance." The first great branch was "some sixty or seventy feet from the ground." Jupiter is told to pass by six large limbs on a particular side of this tree, and to climb out upon the seventh. This

¹ Reprinted from *The Dial*, March 16, 1899.

last proves to be a dead branch, but capable of bearing the negro's weight, and he climbs "mos' out to de eend." Here he discovers a skull nailed to the limb. Legrand tells him to use the "gold-bug," tied to the end of a string, as a plumb-line, dropping it through "the left eye of the skull." A peg is driven into the ground at the precise spot where the beetle falls. Legrand then fastened one end of a tape-measure "at that point of the trunk of the tree which was nearest the peg, . . . unrolled it till it reached the peg, and thence farther unrolled it, in the direction already established, . . . for the distance of fifty feet." About the spot thus obtained as a centre, the three associates excavated a pit four feet in diameter to the depth of seven feet, but found nothing. It was then discovered that Jupiter had dropped the beetle through the wrong eye. The peg was therefore removed to "a spot about three inches" from the previous point. "Taking, now, the tape-measure from the nearest point of the trunk to the peg, as before, and continuing the extension in a straight line to the distance of fifty feet, a spot was indicated, *removed by several yards* from the point at which we had been digging."

The impossibility of the statement italicized will be at once apparent. If the skull was found ten feet away from the trunk of the tree — was it not farther? — the centre of the new circle for digging was about six times three inches from the point around which they dug at first, that is, about eight-

een inches. If the skull were only five feet from the trunk, the second point for digging would be about thirty-three inches from the first.

The journey of the three associates to the place where the chest was discovered lay "through a tract of country excessively wild and desolate." After traveling "for about two hours," they "entered a region infinitely more dreary than any yet seen. It was a species of table-land, near the summit of an almost inaccessible hill, densely wooded from base to pinnacle, and interspersed with huge crags that appeared to lie loosely upon the soil. . . . Deep ravines, in various directions, gave an air of still sterner solemnity to the scene."

The chest found contained "rather more than four hundred and fifty thousand dollars" in gold coins of various nations, "estimating the value of the pieces, as accurately as we could, by the tables of the period." The gold dollar of the United States weighs 25 4-5 grains, and there are 7000 grains in the avoirdupois pound. Gold coin to the value of \$450,000 would weigh, roughly stated, about 1655 pounds. Poe tells us that the weight of the other valuables in the chest "exceeded three hundred and fifty pounds avoirdupois," not including "one hundred and ninety-seven superb gold watches." This makes the total weight of treasure over 2000 pounds. The three companions, unexhausted by their journey and prolonged digging, carried home one third of this treasure in the solid chest over the route indicated above. They reached

their hut "in safety, but after excessive toil, at one o'clock in the morning." After a rest of one hour, they set off, "armed with three stout sacks," to secure the remaining two thirds of the booty. They got back to the hut with this, "just as the first streaks of the dawn gleamed from over the treetops in the east." On the second return journey, if the estimate here given "adds up true," each of the three must have carried about 450 pounds of gold and gems. Certainly, at the time of this achievement, Poe — who tells the story as if himself the third party in the enterprise — had not weakened his bodily powers by dissipation.

In "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" we read: "On the hearth were two or three long and thick tresses of gray human hair, also dabbled with blood, and seeming to have been pulled out by the roots." Later in the story, the infallible Dupin says: "You saw the locks in question as well as myself. Their roots (a hideous sight!) were clotted with fragments of the flesh of the scalp — sure token of the prodigious power which had been exerted in uprooting *perhaps half a million of hairs* at a time." (The italics are not in Poe's text.)

The Bible suggests that God alone can accurately number the hairs upon the human head; but one cannot think that it would have involved any impiety if Poe had made his partial estimate in this passage a little more reasonable.

Let us disabuse our minds, then, of the notion that Poe always "adds up true."

But a truce to petty fault-finding! Poe's fame is secure, though it is not probable that he will ever be popular. His was essentially an original mind: he was a literary discoverer, and the world does not often forget its discoverers. His message is mainly, perhaps, to literary craftsmen. Whether we think of the detective story; of the scientific romance, since carried farther by Jules Verne and others; of what we may call "the short-story of atmosphere"; of certain fundamental truths in "the philosophy of composition"; of the true theory of English versification, since elaborated by Sidney Lanier; or of Poe's own peculiar type of intensely musical poetry, with its fascinating use of tone-color, parallelism, and repetition — we can say with substantial truth, that he was —

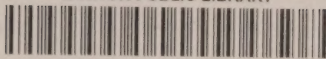
"the first that ever burst
Into that silent sea."

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